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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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30 April 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

#### CONTENTS

##### ALBANIA

Stefani Reviews Role of Investigation Office (Simon Stefani; DREJTESIA POPULLORE, No 4, Oct-Dec 83).....	1
System of Detaining Suspects of Crimes Discussed (Spiro Spiro; DREJTESIA POPULLORE, No 4, Oct-Dec 83).....	9

##### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED Official Assesses Relations With Third World Countries (Kurt Seibt; HORIZONT, No 4, Apr 84).....	18
Call for Intensive Study of Performance Principle (Martina Thom; DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 3, Mar 84).....	22
Development of Naval Officer's School Reviewed (Peter Joachim Lapp; MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Mar 84).....	37
Personality Development Viewed as Inexhaustible Resource (Lieselotte Steitz; DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 3, Mar 84).....	42
Catholic Press History, Organs, Problems Outlined (Hubertus Guske; BEGEGNUNG, No 3, Mar 84).....	50
Pontoon Bridge Construction Exercise Described (Horst Spickereit; AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU, No 2, Feb 84).....	55

## HUNGARY

Kadar's Two Track Domestic, International Policies Examined (Edouard Van Velthem; LE SOIR, 7, 8 Mar 84).....	59
---	----

## ROMANIA

Changes in Membership of GNA Commissions (BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 98, 20 Dec 83).....	66
Briefs	
Peoples Councils Appointments	68
Removal of Statistics Chief	68
Cluj Peoples Council Appointment	68
New Deputy Minister	68

## YUGOSLAVIA

Bosnia-Hercegovina Party Membership Statistics (Gordana Knezevic; OSLOBODJENJE, 29 Mar 84).....	69
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STEFANI REVIEWS ROLE OF INVESTIGATION OFFICE

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 4, Oct-Dec 83 pp 3-10

[Article by Simon Stefani, Politburo member and secretary of the AWP Central Committee: "The Assurance of the Leadership Role of the Party and the Correct Understanding of the Party Directives and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Teachings -- A Guarantee for the Successful Implementation of the Tasks by the Organs of Investigation"].

[Text] Our people, led by the Albanian Workers Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their leadership and guided as always, by the principle of reliance on their own forces, have achieved important successes in the field of social production and in education, culture, health and the defense of the country. During the past 2 years, our socialist country twice reduced prices; from this price reduction, our working masses benefited dozens of millions of leks. These successes have made the political situation of our country stronger than ever.

The unmasking and liquidating of the hostile and plotting activity of Mehmet Shehu -- this manifold agent in the service of foreigners -- and of his accomplices Kadri Hazbiu, Fecor Shehu, and others by the party was a very important victory for our party and people. The correct policy of our Party, its force, and Marxism-Leninism once more triumphed over our domestic and foreign enemies. In spite of the harm caused by the band of enemy Mehmet Shehu, the people's unity around the party remains unshakeable.

The successes achieved in the construction of socialism in our country have their source in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party, in Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and in the work, vigilance and unity of our people around their party. We must preserve these successes and promote them further.

The organs of investigation, created and forged by the party since the difficult but glorious years of the National Liberation War, have made valuable contribution to the continuing struggle waged by the party against the domestic and foreign enemies of socialism. Our people's revolution created the new type of justice -- its new law -- and its principles, norms and new juridical laws and institutions during the armed struggle of the war of liberation.

In order to implement, in the best way possible, the tasks entrusted to defend the socialist juridical system from the democratic and foreign enemies and from politically and normally depraved elements who carry out antisocialist and hostile acts, the organs of investigation, as a component of the political superstructure, have continually undergone organizational changes and have been further improved.

The office of investigation, divided and organized into investigation of the Prosecutor's office, investigation of the State Security and so forth, in accordance with the nature of criminal acts, was unified in 1973 at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This unification and its concentration at the Ministry of Internal Affairs was one of the most correct and most acceptable solutions, which was linked with the time when this decision was taken and with the tasks which the party was assigning for the strict execution of the socialist law in the entire penal and procedural activity, which the organs of investigation would carry out at the center and the district. The implementation of this correct decision was sabotaged by the counterrevolutionary and harmful intentions of the enemies KADRI HAZBIU and FECORSHEHU. These enemies acted in opposition to the guidelines and directives of the party.

The 10-year old practice, from the day of concentration of investigation in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, proved that this concentration, a part from the sabotage activities carried out by the enemies, did not create the conditions for having complete, comprehensive and objective investigations. The reorganization of investigation and its separation from the Ministry of Internal Affairs was decided upon for the purpose of giving to investigation its place in the state mechanism and of improving the class spirit, party-mindedness and objectivity in the process of investigation.

With this important decision, the organs of investigation are separated from the organs of the state administration and are placed under the jurisdiction of the highest organs of the state authority, such as the other organs of justice, the Court and the Prosecutor's Office. This measure will strengthen socialist laws; it is another expression of the concern of the party and, personally, of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the democratization of the organs of investigation; it creates the complete conditions for the success of work of these organs. The reorganization of Investigator's Office, as an organ by itself, separated from any influence of administration and of other organs of justice, presents an original form of the organization of investigation carried out in our country for improving the political superstructure.

Placing the three organs of justice under the jurisdiction and control of the highest organ of the state authority, creates the possibility for a single management of these organs and for strengthening cooperation and coordination in the struggle for preventing violations of the law and for preventing crimes.

In this field, tasks are assigned to all organs of justice and, especially, to the workers of the organs of the investigator's office.

The assurance of the leadership role of the party and the correct analysis and understanding of the directives of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings is a guaranty for the successful implementation of the task entrusted.

The continuing improvement and perfection of the leadership role of the party constitutes an objective necessity in the activity of the justice organs, as anywhere else. This is a decisive condition for implementing the great tasks in concrete situation under which we are constructing socialism.

"The party insures its leadership role with its correct line and resolute struggle and work for the implementation of this line in life,"<sup>1</sup> Comrade Enver said at the Eighth AWP Congress. "In our country, the party is in command; it leads everywhere -- in politics and ideology, in government and economy and in education, culture and science, in the army and in all other sectors of the country."

For this reason, the enemies of all hues -- the domestic and foreign enemies -- have directed and are directing their main attacks against the party to weaken its leadership role, because, this is the only way to achieve their purposes aimed at deteriorating our socialist system.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union and of other revisionist countries confirms, in the best way possible, this conclusion of our party.

Therefore, the party organs and basic party organizations must work better for the education of the communists and cadres that they will be guided by the party line in all their activities, always placing the proletarian policy on the foreground.

Placing policy on the foreground necessitates that you understand and correctly develop the class struggle, both the class struggle between us and the enemies and the class struggle in the bosom of the people. This requires that you properly distinguish what is hostile from what is not hostile and that you understand and handle in a correct manner the two kinds of contradictions -- the antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. This is a principled and vital matter for the continuing development of our socialist revolution. If one lacks clarity of vision in these matters, he can easily fall both in sectarianism and liberalism which equally are manifestations harmful and foreign for the line and interests of the and of socialism.

The party teaches us that handling matters with objectivity and party-mindedness would mean, first of all, to look at and evaluate them from the positions and interests of the working class and on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and of the general line of our party. This requires, on the one hand, that the class struggle be understood and implemented in a correct manner and that the interests of the party and of the dictatorship

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Enver Hoxha. "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party." p 66

of the proletariat be defended and, on the other hand, that all efforts possible be made in order to reflect things in a real manner, seeing and scientifically handling all the aspects -- the object and objective aspect, the subject and subjective aspect and the aggravating and attenuating circumstances of the execution of the crime or of the penal infraction.

On this basis, the forms and measures of striking must be determined as correctly as possible so that the enemies and delinquents be severely beaten and -- our people saved when they can and must be saved. Therefore, the policy of striking must be carried out in a gradual and differentiated manner in accordance with the interests and the teachings of the party.

The entire work of the organs of justice must be capable of preventing our people from undertaking hostile and evil activities; this can be achieved on the basis of the best cooperation possible of the workers of these organs with the social organizations and the state and economic organs.

The improvement of the feeling of responsibility by the communists and cadres for understanding, executing and defending the party line, expressed in the socialist law, also requires the strengthening of control and the improvement of the requirement for accounting on the part of the basic party organizations and the bureaus and committees of the party toward the organs and cadres. This is a party norm which must be fully executed in all the work of the organs, basic party organizations and state organs.

By ensuring the best leadership possible of the party organs and basic party organizations in the struggle against the old concepts and practices, the organs of investigation during 1982 and on a continuing basis have had good results in many of their work indicators. Special attention was shown for the policy of striking, applying consultations more extensively. The number of persons pursued in the -- situation of arrest was reduced in a noticeable manner, the rapidity of investigations of penal cases was increased and, in general, the feeling of responsibility and the level of objectivity for their investigations was improved. Nevertheless, we still observe cases, although rarely, showing political and ideological shallowness and lack of objectivity for the investigation of penal cases.

In these matters, we must be guided by Comrade Enver Hoxha's recommendation at the Eighth AWP Congress that "No matter that falls in contradiction with the laws and that is in the jurisdiction of these organs must be allowed to pass without being investigated and judged with a great sense of maturity, judgment, party-mindedness and skill."<sup>2</sup>

This directive of the Eighth AWP Congress, constituting an inseparable unity of requirements, must constitute the main axle of the work of the investigative workers for now and the future.

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2. Enver Hoxha. "Report to the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party." p 98

It is the duty of the state organs at the base and in the center to analyze the directives of the party and to dispatch them below in the most precise and complete manner, to provide the guidelines for the interpretation and execution of the laws and to organize the work for their execution, to draw conclusions, to report on the fulfillment of the tasks, to study and enlighten the perspective outlined by the party, which orientate the activity of the justice organs, must be especially studied and known thoroughly. Only with such an expanded and systematical work will the negative manifestations and influences be successfully fought, the liberal and sectarian attitudes avoided and objectivity and party-mindedness improved in regard to the investigation of the various penal cases.

For the execution of the decisions of the party, it is also required to improve the scientific level of the work of the organs of justice and, especially, the organs of investigation.

The party has continually set forth before the state organs, social organizations and economic organs the necessity to improve the scientific level of their work.

This necessity is dictated by the rapid development of life of the country and of the continuing progress stemming from the nature of our socialist system. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the Eighth AWP Congress: "Life goes on, our socialist society develops uninterruptedly and the conditions change. This development demands us to be creative and innovative, to find new -- more skilled and more varied work forms and to rejuvenate and enrich them continually so that they will respond better to the requirements of the times."<sup>3</sup>

In the present conditions, this directive of the party assumes -- special importance for the work of the justice organs. They, as specialized organs in the field of exercising justice, must find new forms and methods of work, more effective and more scientific, for preventing violations of the law and for preventing crimes.

Crime, as a social phenomenon, is the product of a society with antagonistic classes and, in the present conditions, is increasingly growing within the scope of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. In our socialist system there is no economic and political ground for the birth and development of crime. Nevertheless, in our country, too, there are -- special people who commit felonies or misdemeanors. This is a known reality which has its own foreign and domestic explanations and reasons. Now, these reasons are known because Comrade Enver Hoxha has enlightened them in a scientific manner. Here, the issue is that, by knowing them thoroughly and by also knowing the other favoring and facilitating circumstances, which are linked with our subjective weaknesses, we must construct a well studied and expanded work for preventing criminal acts.

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3. Enver Hoxha. "Report to the Eighth Party Congress, p 76

If some antisocialist activities, carried out by some persons, are not discovered and liquidated in embryo, then, they can take greater dimensions and become dangerous for our socialist society. Since the struggle against these negative phenomena is not being organized properly, in accordance with the directives and guidelines of the party, at a specific time, they will create disturbances. Therefore, the party organs and organizations and their levers must be drawn attention to the work which they undertake in this direction.

The number of penal cases is increasing as a result of the great work undertaken by the party. Nevertheless, some indicators of actions toward property draws attention. The concern must be especially improved in regard to the prevention of criminal acts committed by youths between 14 and 26 years in order to keep them always pure and in order to involve them in the construction and defense of socialism. The prevention of criminal acts committed by workers must also be organized in a better manner.

We must not let these phenomena to get thicker; on the contrary, we must combat them; we must find the shortcomings in the work of our organs and take measures in order to improve the situation.

Investigators, judges and prosecutors are, first of all, workers of the party and political militants. The task which the party has entrusted to the organs of justice must be seen under this vantage point.

The struggle and efforts to prevent violations of the laws and the execution of crimes must be a major task in the entire activity of work of the office of investigation. By improving the level of work for the improvement of the juridical awareness of the working masses through the perfection of the style and method of work of the organs of investigation for the best possible organization, management and coordination of work between the organs of investigation and the state organs and social organizations, we must aim at preventing our citizens from committing antisocialist activities punishable by the penal legislation.

It is true that efforts have been made and are being made in this direction by the workers of the organs of justice. For this, the laws are being worked out and analyzed in work centers and agricultural cooperatives and penal and civil judgments are being developed before the working masses, examining the conclusions drawn by investigators or by conducting popular investigations; but, nevertheless, these efforts are insufficient. New and more effective work methods are lacking; and shallowness and formalism, which hamper the achievement of the desired results, still exist.

The party teaches us that we must compare the work done with the results achieved; this requires qualitative and effectual work on the part of the workers and organs of justice. Technocracy and formalism, observed from time to time in the work of the organs of investigation, must be rejected, because, they are foreign for our state apparatus and because they pave the way for bureaucracy.



Therefore, the justice workers, who see every day how the old clashes with the new, the thoughts and judgments of the people and the relationships between them, the struggle and efforts carried out for progress and the violations and deviations observed in the execution of the laws, have the task to record, study and generalize these phenomena, showing the reasons that produce them and, under the leadership of the party, to think how to prevent them and how to solve them. This demands that we work with the necessary seriousness for the creation of a single front in the struggle against crimes.

It is necessary, both for the justice organs and the investigations organs, to organize a coordinated, studied and expanded prophylactic work. The task of the investigation organs is not simply to investigate penal cases, which must be done quickly, properly and based on the laws and norms of the party, but, first of all, their task is to prevent them.

The party teaches us that in the struggle against violation of the laws and the manifestation of crimes, there is no success possible without the creation of a single work front among the justice organs, the other state organs and the mass organizations under the party leadership. Cooperation between the state security organs and the organs of justice, prosecution, court and the investigator's office, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must be a tight one, without trampling on the jurisdiction of each other. Any decision taken or thought conceived by the investigator's office, by the other justice organs and the executive organs, must be well documented and within the limits of the party laws and norms.

In order to achieve this objective, some manifestations which we observe, such as sectariansim, individualism and others must be abandoned; we must always be guided by the high interest of the party.

The organs of investigation and the other organs of justice have valuable factual materials at their disposal on the situation and the manifestation of crimes, on their tendencies and dispositions and on shortcomings in the organizational work which favors crimes and so forth; these organs cannot always exploit these materials by themselves; they need, for this, the cooperation of work with other organs and social organizations in order to stir up the entire social opinion.

It is not normal at all that in some districts, such as Tirana, Elbasan and others, the organs of investigation have not handled any case in cooperation with the social organizations, although there are many such cases for treatment, for example, crimes among youths, crimes in the ranks of the working class and so forth. The same can be said in regard to the organization of the various aktivs at the level of the area, district, economy or enterprise, whose negative phenomena are more acute; therefore, these work forms are used rarely or are not organized at the required level.

We must further improve the scientific level of work and perfect its style and method and find new and more effective ways for preventing penal acts.

For this issue, our attention must be concentrated on two directions:

First, we must have greater mobilization and greater concern in regard to this issue and we must find the effective and useful ways and forms for preventing illegal activities and crimes.

Second, we must not wait that everything be dictated from above and, then, evaluate the issue. The party has entrusted the justice organs with a very great task in this important work front; therefore, there is no reason for remaining in expectation in order to fulfill this task.

The study and generalizing work, as one of the forms of the preventive work, which must be carried out with high qualitative and scientific level, is of special interest in the activity of the -- organs of justice.

The Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum assigned special tasks to the state, - economic - and - justice organs for the further increase and improvement of the study and generalizing work. For this issue, the party has great requirements for the organs of justice. The study and generalizing materials, which are prepared, are often shallow, anemic and superficial. Some known and repeated phenomena are listed in these materials and there is no thorough analysis of the reasons which produce and favor these negative phenomena, of the erroneous concepts and ideas of the people who violate the state laws and of the judgments of the sound social opinion toward them and so forth.

The raising of such issues [for discussion] to the party, intermingling the work of the moment with those of the future in a proper manner, is, at the same time, a qualitative and preventive work. Therefore, studies, which lead to the correct solution of issues and which open prospects for work in the future, must be drawn up and undertaken.

The issues which are treated above are closely linked with the organization, management, method and style of work; therefore, they must be understood and implemented as issues with a stressed political and ideological character, linked with the continuing strengthening of our socialist state. The basis party organizations, cadres and all communists, who work in the justice organs, must continually expand their work, because, it is not easy to change the old concepts, style and methods -- at once.

The new decision on "the organization of the investigator's office and its separation from the internal affairs organs" will, certainly, improve the feeling of responsibility and the mobilization of the workers of the investigator's office for the implementation of their tasks.

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SYSTEM OF DETAINING SUSPECTS OF CRIMES DISCUSSED

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 4, Oct-Dec 83 pp 63-70

[Article by Spiro Spiro: "Some Matters of the Judicial Regulation and of the Execution in Practice of the Measure of Detention]

[Text] The necessity to execute rigorous measures occurs often in the process of the struggle against penal acts. They serve to properly implement the tasks entrusted to some state organs and, especially, the organs of the investigation's office and of the court in this direction. Detention, which, in reality, constitutes the removal of freedom for the person suspected of having committed a crime for which the law stipulates a punishment with removal of liberty, is included in the chain of these measures. From this it emerges that detention is the restriction of a person's liberty. In our country, the untouchability of a person is a constitutional right. Under defined circumstances when the interests of society or of specified persons are affected, the person's untouchability can be affected, but always within the limits covered by law and only when the legal conditions are implemented.

The right of the special state organs to violate the untouchability of a person is covered by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Article 56, which, among other things, stipulates that in specified cases foreseen by the law, the responsible organs can detain a person not more than 3 days.

The stipulation in the same disposition of the Constitution, in regard to the right of untouchability of the person, to the guarantee of untouchability by the state and to the right of some organs to violate it in specific cases is the consequence of the principle of harmonization of the interests of society with those interests of the individual where, as is known, priority is given to the interests of society and of the collective and not to the interests of persons. This violation is in exception undertaken against special persons who have an erroneous undertaking about socialist democracy and who want that personal interests be opposed to the interests of society, committing acts which contradict the laws and violate either the interests of the collective (of society) or the interests of other individuals.

On the basis of the importance of the correct execution of the measure of -- detention of a person, the Legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has dedicated an important place to its juridical regulation. In addition to the provision of Article 56 of the Constitution, regulations on detention are also set in the content of its article 73 and 96 and in article 66, 68, 69 and 70 of the Code of Penal Procedure; the strict respect for these regulations guarantees the protection of the citizens' rights, preventing their violation not only in a formal manner, but also in a real manner by the organs which, according to the law, have the right and duty to execute acts of detention. The provisions of the Code of Penal Procedure mentioned, which have emerged on the basis and for the execution of the constitutional provisions, indicate which organs have the right to detain the person suspected of having committed a crime, and when they have the right to undertake the detention. They also define the juridical form of this action, according to which these organs are obligated to solve the penal position of the detainee within a strictly determined deadline of no more than 72 hours. These provisions cover, at the same time, the obligation of these organs to provide for the person detained the right to defend himself from any arbitrariness.

On the basis of the content of these provisions, detention, as a rigorous measure, is not only a correct measure, but also a duty of the organs entrusted with the execution of this measure within the framework of all the acts and measures which they have to undertake in the process of investigation and of prevention of penal acts. Only such a two-sided understanding of this right guarantees a correct execution of the legal provisions mentioned and of the principle of the legal aspect in the process of investigation and of prevention of penal acts, and blocks the way to any kind of arbitrariness.

According to the content of the provision of Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure, the right of detention is given to the organs of investigation, the internal affairs organs, and the commands of military units for army personnel.

In the formulation of these organs, which have the right to exercise this measure, in addition to the organs of investigation, in which all investigators have this right, there are specified workers who are named in special legal papers, written on the basis of the law and for the execution of the law both by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of People's Defense. They are workers who, being in the formation of the internal affairs organs, perform tasks in connection with discovery, investigation and prevention of criminal acts. In the Armed Forces, however -- because of their specific character -- these workers function in the commands of certain units. Their task is to initiate rapid measures ensuring quick and objective investigation of criminal acts and measures for preventing them.

While the commands of military units have the right to detain only military men,<sup>1</sup> the internal affairs organs have the right to detain any person, civilian or military, suspected of having committed a criminal act punishable with removal of liberty. The exercise of this right, in practice, for military men of the units of the Ministry of People's Defense is left to the authority of the commands of the units under the jurisdiction of this ministry; while for the military men of the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, this right is exercised by the commands of its units.

The New Code of Penal Procedure<sup>2</sup> is expressed more precisely and more concretely in regard to the organs who have the right to detain; this is different from the previous code<sup>3</sup> which stressed that the right to detain is given to the organs of investigation (Article 209), at a time when, as organs of investigation, there were: the organs of the People's Police and other organs compared with the People's Police, the organs of control and the organs of the inspectorate of Finance, trade, and work and other administrative organs for matters under their jurisdiction, the commands of military units and departments and the persons instructed with the investigation of crimes executed by arm men/(Article 104).

The correct understanding of the provision of Article 168 of the Code of Penal Procedure is important because it is connected with the execution of socialist law in the activity of the organs which have the right to detain. Therefore, the scientific interpretation of its content presents not only a theoretical interest, but, first of all, a great practical interest because it deals with the correct execution of the party line and of the state laws in the penal processing.

First, it is necessary to interpret and understand correctly that who are the persons toward whom the act of detention can be executed as a rigorous measure. In this connection, the legislator emphasized in Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure that the above mentioned organs have the right to detain the person who is suspected of having committed a penal act punishable with removal of liberty<sup>1</sup> (underlining S.S.). Therefore, it appears that we can detain only those persons who are suspected of having executed penal acts, for which the provisions of the Special Part of the Penal Code foresee a punishment with removal of liberty, be they crimes or penal infractions. The provision of the Special Part of the Penal Code can stipulate other kinds of punishment, as a measure of punishment, besides that with the removal of liberty; however, so that the measure of detention is executed, it is an essential condition that it stipulates the punishment with the

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1. With the term of "military men," one should understand military men of the active service, compulsory military men, those called up for service and other persons who by law are compared to them. Reference Article 138 of the Penal Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, approved by the People's Assembly on 15 June 1977.

2. The New Code of Penal Procedure was approved by Law No 6069 on 25 December 1979 and came into force on 1 April 1980.

3. The Code of Penal Procedure was approved by Law No 1960, dated 30 March 1953.

removal of liberty as a measure of punishment. On this basis, one reaches the conclusion that, for the persons suspected of having executed penal acts under the jurisdiction of village courts or city quartercourts, as a rule, the measure of detention cannot be carried out. This is because, as is known, according to this decree, the village courts and city quarter courts have had no right to mete out punishment with removal of freedom, regardless of the fact that, for some penal acts under their jurisdiction, the provisions of the Special Part of the Penal Code foresee the punishment with removal of freedom as a measure of punishment. We say as a rule, because the measure of detention cannot be carried out for those persons for whom, from the moment when the issue of the execution of this measure is set, the conclusion is reached that they have committed or are suspected of having executed penal acts under the jurisdiction of the village or city quarter courts. While, when we are before cases when persons have committed or are suspected of having committed penal acts, for which acts the law foresees a punishment with removal of liberty as a measure of punishment, but, because of the circumstances it has not been determined yet if the act is under the jurisdiction of the district court or under the jurisdiction of the village and city quarter courts, when it is deemed necessary and the other requirements of the law are satisfied, the measure of detention can be taken against these persons. This measure must be removed at once, as soon as the determining of the jurisdiction is reached when the penal act, of the given case, is in the jurisdiction of village courts or of city quarter courts. This can be the case of a person who is caught immediately after he committed a robbery for which he can be detained when the value of the things appropriated has not been determined yet, a measure which must be removed immediately as soon as it is determined that this value was less than 200 leks and that the person is not a repeater in the execution of this crime and so forth.

In connection with the persons who can be detained, it is necessary to stress that, even though in Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure it is noted that the internal affairs organs and the commands of units, in regard to military men, have the right to detain any person who is suspected of having executed a penal act punishable with removal of liberty, there are some important constitutional limits of other legal acts which define that the measure of detention, as a rule cannot be applied to some categories of persons. These categories include deputies of the People's Assembly, members of the people's councils of all instances and judges (judges of district courts and members of the High Court of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania).

In accordance with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, -- deputies of the People's Assembly (Article 73) and -- members of the people's councils (Article 96) enjoy immunity and cannot be detained, arrested or pursued penally without the approval of the People's Assembly (for deputies) and the people's council (for the members of the people's council), with the exception of the cases when they have executed a noticeable and serious crime.

Therefore, it appears that, differently from the definition of Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure, according to which any person suspected of having committed a penal act which punishable with removal of liberty, in the cases covered by the same provision, deputies and members of the people's councils can be detained only for serious crimes and not for penal infractions. Besides this, the detention of the persons of this category is carried out when they have committed a serious and noticeable crime, meaning not when they are suspected.

In order to evaluate whether the crime committed by these persons is serious or not, we must start from the level of its danger -- for society, which is determined by the object and the consequences which have derived or can derive from it, and by the measure of punishment stipulated in the provision of the Special Part of the Penal Code covering the crime that has been committed. Serious crimes are, for example, the crimes against the state, crimes against the individual (murder) and the appropriation of socialist property covered by articles 61 and 62 of the Penal Code and so forth.

Another problem of interest in regard to detention is the correct interpretation and understanding of the expression of the provision of Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure, according to which, the person who is suspected of having committed a crime is detained (underlining S.S.), for which, in practice, there are things that are obscure.

Detention is a temporary measure which cannot be prolonged more than 72 hours. Within this deadline, the organs of investigation must make a decision toward the person detained, that is, whether to adopt the measure of arresting him or of freeing him. Nevertheless, although detention is a temporary measure, depriving the person of his liberty and affecting his inviolability, it is necessary that this action be completely based on the law and be carried out for only those persons who deserve this measure. Suspicions that a person has committed a penal act, serving as a basis for detaining him, must not be suppositions but must be created on the basis of some concrete facts which, because of the short period between the moment of the occurrence of the action and the moment of the adoption of the decision on the detention of the person, cannot be precisely evaluated to the level needed to decide on the adoption of a more severe measure toward him, such as arresting him as a measure of security. In the presence of these facts, the responsible organs are obliged to act and detain the person, an obligation stemming from the necessity to prevent the person from carrying out other penal acts, to deprive him of any opportunity to destroy the evidence of his act and, also, to give the investigation and court organs the possibility for discovering the penal acts and the culprits who have committed them.

The facts on the basis of which suspicions can be created that a person has executed a penal act, for which the responsible organs have the right to execute the measure of detention, can be different; however, these organs must always refer to the penal act which has been committed and -- throw light on the relationships existing between this act and a determined person as its author. In order to avoid the possibility for errors (and for

arbitrariness) in the execution of this procedural act, the legislator, in Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure, has stipulated the concrete givens that condition the creation of the suspicion that a determined person is the author of a penal act; these facts are the only ones serving as a basis for detaining a person.

Apart from the facts stipulated in points 1 to 4 of the provision, there is no other fact serving as a basis for detaining a person, regardless of the importance and truthfulness which they can have in themselves. The latter can, in some cases, serve as evidence and reasons in order to decide immediately on the arrest, but not on the detention of the person.

The facts serving as a basis for the detention of a person (or as the cases of detention are called in practice), stipulated in Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure, are:

1. When the person has been caught preparing to commit a penal act, in the execution of the penal act or immediately after the execution of the penal act;
2. when the injured party or the witness, who has seen the happening, identifies the person who has committed the penal act;
3. when the signs of the penal act have been found on the body or in the residence of the person;
4. when the person, immediately after the penal act, seeks to hide from investigation.<sup>4</sup>

As one sees, with the exception of the first case (besides the expression "immediately after commitment" of the penal act), which refers to -- facts almost complete, which serves as a sufficient base for placing the person before penal responsibility for the penal act which he has committed, the three others refer to special facts which throw light on the author of the penal act and indicate that a determined person must be its author.

Thus, when a person has been caught preparing to commit a penal act and in the execution of the penal act, it is understood that, in regard to the issue, there is no doubt at all that he is the author of this act. The detention of this person is necessary both for preventive effects, for depriving him of the opportunity to avoid investigation and the court and for providing complete possibilities for investigation and for giving the court the opportunity to discover its criminal activity in general and his accomplices in crime.

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4. The previous Code of Penal Procedure, in addition to these cases, also stipulated that a person can be detained when he tries to escape or when he is caught while he is already a runaway, when he has no permanent residence or place of work and when the identity of the person who has committed the crime cannot be verified. This Code did not stipulate the case when a person seeks to hide from investigation immediately after committing a penal act; this case is included in the new Code.

Not infrequently, in practice, when the organs of investigation are immediately informed about -- facts of this nature and the time is promising that they will execute the procedural acts which give to these facts the value of the legal evidence, the measure of detention is not applied to the person; however, when the conditions, stipulated in Article 49 of the Code of Penal Procedure, are fulfilled and it is deemed necessary, the measure of arrest is applied directly.

The issue must be handled -- differently when we are in the presence of cases showing that the person was caught immediately after the execution of the penal act; when the injured party or the witness, who has seen the happening, identified the person who has committed the penal act; when the signs of the penal act have been found on the body or in the residence of the person and when the person, immediately after the execution of the penal act, seeks to hide from investigation. These are facts which show the relationships existing between one person and a penal act that has happened -- the relationships that show that this person is the author possible of this act, but that such a thing has not yet been fully verified.

In order to reach such a conclusion, in these cases, it is necessary that investigative activities be carried out; the results of these activities will be complete, with complete evidences, the picture of a person as being the author of a penal act. The possibility is not excluded that the results of investigative activities, carried out after the detention of a person, will lead to the conclusion that the happening does not constitute a penal act or that, in the execution of this act, the detained person did not act with guilt or that this person is not the author of this penal act and that, conclusively, the measure of detention adopted against him must be removed. This is precisely one of the reasons that, in taking this measure, special attention must be shown, which constitutes especially in the attentive and objective evaluation of the initial facts on the basis of which the question arises whether a person should be detained or not.

The four cases of detention, stipulated in Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure, have a common thing -- they refer to the evident (flagrant) acts of the person in relationship with a penal act. The penal act could have been committed at the moment, -- within a very short time from the moment when the issue of detention was set forth; but, it could also have been committed -- some time before; and, again, the discovery of these facts set forth before the responsible organs the necessity to use the measure of detention. Such are, for example, the cases when signs of the penal act have been found on the body or in the residence of the person; the discovery of these signs can be the result of the search in the residence or the examination of the body of this person; those are activities which can be carried out both immediately after the discovery of the penal act and some time after this moment -- a period of time which is conditioned by the situation of the data which, according to Article 89 of the Code of Penal Procedure, serve as a legal basis for the execution of the search.

As mentioned, in accordance with our laws, the person detained enjoys the right of defense. So that this right is ensured to him in the best way



possible, the obligation of the organs, which undertake the detention, is stipulated in Article 70 of the Code of Penal Procedure that the Prosecutor's Office must be informed immediately about the adoption of this measure. On his part, the prosecutor checks the legal foundation of -- detention and orders the removal of this measure when he establishes that the detention was not based on the law. The internal affairs organs are obliged to execute the prosecutor's order immediately for the removal of the measure of detention. The prosecutor has the right to order the removal of this measure of detention during the entire deadline of 72 hours which is the duration of this measure. The New Code of Penal Procedure, in regard to the obligation to inform the prosecutor, which devolves on the organs that undertake the detention, has set a stronger demand than in the previous code,<sup>5</sup> aiming at informing the prosecutor immediately about the material in order to create the effective opportunity to exercise a rapid monitoring of the legal aspect of detention and, when noting activities incompatible with the law, to order the adoption of measure in order to repair any violation as soon as possible.

In practice, the issue whether a person can be detained or not after the penal case has begun has been raised often. We think that the measure of detention can be taken even after the panel case has begun. Detention, in these cases, relies on the requirements of points two, three, and four of Article 68 of the Code of Penal Procedure.

Discussions have also been raised in connection with the issue of solving the measure of safety of the person detained. Opinions have been expressed that, regardless that detention lasts up to 72 hours, if the person detained is considered as the defendant, the question of what measure of safety should be adopted toward him must be established immediately before the completion of the 72 hours. We believe that this is in contraction with the content of Article 47 of the Code of Penal Procedure, according to which the court and the investigator have the right to adopt safety measures toward a person who is considered as the defendant. From this, it appears that the court or the investigator has the right to take safety measures toward the defendant, but not the obligation. Whether it is necessary or not that safety measures be taken toward a person who is considered as the defendant is left to their estimation in all cases and there is no special legal obligation for the cases when the person, who is considered as the defendant, is a detainee. Also, for the detainees who are considered as defendants, in the adoption of the decision on the solution of the safety measures, the investigator and the court start from the requirements of the law and the situation of crime in the district at the given time.

In connection with the juridical form in which detention is reflected, the Code of Penal Procedure (Article 69) voices that a detailed written statement

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5. In Article 109 of the previous Code of Penal Procedure it was noted: "The prosecutor must be informed about the detention as soon as possible." This Code did not stipulate the right of the prosecutor to order the removal of the measure of detention when observing that it was not based on the law.



is made for an act of detention. On the basis of the importance of the adoption of this measure and the consequences for the person toward whom this measure is taken, we think that it would be more suitable that this act be reflected in the form of a decision, that the responsible organ must take, where, not only the motive and circumstances, but also the reason on the basis of which he takes this measure, be written on his statement of reasoning.

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SED OFFICIAL ASSESSES RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 17 No 4, Apr 84 (signed to press 2 Apr 84) p 3

[Article by Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED central auditing commission and president of the GDR solidarity committee, summarizing the report of the GDR solidarity committee presidium session on 23 Feb 84: "Solidarity is our Strength"]

[Text] The peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are finding themselves exposed today to increasing imperialist pressure, direct and indirect intervention and open acts of aggression. The most aggressive U.S. imperialist circles have not given up their intention to reconquer lost positions and subjugate the peoples on those continents and make them serviceable to their profit drive. In view of these undisguised world domination plans and the confrontation and arms buildup policy of the incumbent U.S. administration, anti-imperialist solidarity is an essential component of the worldwide struggle for the preservation and safeguarding of peace.

The work of the solidarity committee is in line with the affirmation expressed in the SED Central Committee Politburo report to the seventh Central Committee session of the GDR's firm solidarity with all peoples and movements opposing Washington's and NATO's missile course and defending the peoples' right to national independence and social progress. Thanks to donations from the population, the mass organizations and other organs and institutions, the friendly states and liberation movements could again be granted in 1983 solidarity aid at a clip of over M 200 million.

Training of Specialists

More than half of these funds are used to finance the training and continuing education of cadres from nations liberated or fighting for their liberation. More than 29,000 members of these nations are at present in the GDR for vocational training or professional certification, and then there are circa 6,000 students and assistants at our colleges and technical schools. Moreover, many GDR advisors and experts are in those countries, many of whom are involved in training specialists.

Our experience indicates that this kind of aid is the most effective form of solidarity; despite the greatest efforts they have been making, those nations today still suffer from the extremely low educational status taken over from

colonialism and the shortage of cadres implied by that. To the extent that we help them train their own specialists, they become able to overcome their backwardness and neocolonial dependency and more rapidly to extend the advances they have made.

The GDR solidarity committee last year also used again several million marks to treat and care for wounded patriots and fighters of the liberation movements, victims of imperialist, counterrevolutionary acts of terrorism and aggression, in GDR public health institutions. Many children from Asian, African and Latin American countries were again given the opportunity for recreational vacation in the GDR.

Circa one-third of the solidarity donations from the population was spent for material aid, for delivering urgently needed equipment, foodstuffs, medicines and so forth. Solidary aid for Vietnam in 1983, e.g., included the delivery of textiles, fabrics, medicines, school equipment and other goods. Important have been the projects to complete the orthopedic technical center in Ba Vi and for the development of the Dac Lac coffee plantations. New workshops were set up and existing ones were expanded or reconstructed.

Aid to Laos in 1983 concentrated on the reconstruction and expansion of the Vientiane national printing plant and the development of coffee plantations at Champassak Province as well as on training Laotian college and technical school specialists.

Kampuchea particularly involved the development of public health and the supplying of the population with certain articles. Joint efforts between the GDR Visual Artists Association and the Finnish solidarity committee helped reestablish the Fine Arts School in Phnom Penh and reawaken the rich cultural legacy the Pol Pot clique had condemned to destruction.

When I visited these three countries, the leading party and government representatives paid the highest tribute to GDR solidarity.

Afghanistan also received considerable political and material aid from us in the struggle against the external counterrevolution and to solve problems that had arisen in Afghanistan. Three charter flights took urgently needed goods to that country and returned to the GDR with Afghan patriots aboard to receive training.

In the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the peace, friendship and solidarity house was completed last year as a solidarity present from the GDR and handed over by the general secretary of our solidarity committee.

#### Aid to Economic Construction

The GDR's unlimited solidarity for the struggle of SWAPO and ANC again received high tribute. That became evident when SWAPO President Sam Nujoma paid a visit to the GDR in September 1983. It also was expressed in talks with the chairman of the UN anti-apartheid commission, the chairman of the UN center against apartheid, and the chairman of the Namibia Council, which the general secretary of the solidarity committee conducted in New York in November 1983.

Sam Nujoma paid especially high tribute to the great importance the training of more than 600 SWAPO cadres in the GDR, for more than 20 occupations, had for the future independent Namibia.

Angola and Mozambique were also aid priorities in 1983. In March 1984, Angolan wounded again arrived in the GDR for medical treatment. FDJ friendship brigades are assisting in several Angolan districts. GDR experts are active in many fields of labor there.

High solidarity donations furthermore help further extend in Mozambique significant economic projects the GDR has started in that African country. Repairing the Dondo-Derundo railroad line and help in mining are just a few examples. Our committee also supplied extensive aid to surmount the results of the protracted drought in the south of Mozambique. Other solidarity shipments to eliminate flood damage in Mozambique were readied at short shrift.

Ethiopia, celebrating the 10th anniversary of its revolution this year, is another solidarity priority. An important aspect is our support for cadre training, for the medical faculty of Gondar University, for instance.

In view of the increasing threat against Nicaragua from U.S. imperialism and the continual attacks from the counterrevolution, our solidarity for that heroic nation is of very special importance. We are supplying urgently needed goods, most of which are sent immediately. With great intensity we help complete a training center for construction and machine mechanics, electrical engineers, tube installers, automobile mechanics, electricians and tailors. That training center is meant to be handed over in mid-1984.

#### The Public's Participation

Our active internationalist solidarity reaches certain high points, as in the weeks and days of solidarity with the African, Asian, Central and South American nations fighting for their national and social liberation. In 1983 that also included solidarity events in Suhl in May, in Karl-Marx-Stadt in June, in Magdeburg in September, and a large number of other events in various GDR bezirks as commemorative and campaign days of the national liberation movements.

Definitely to be referred to here are the radio programs, "Freedom for Peace," and the big journalists' bazaar at Berlin's Alexanderplatz, attended annually by tens of thousands of Berliners, and the many bazaars and solidarity events of different sorts held traditionally in each bezirk and kreis of our republic.

In close cooperation with the solidarity committee, the GDR mass media have creditably promoted by various contributions the ideas of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Taking account of the Karl Marx Year, the solidarity committee in September 1983 sponsored a science colloquy under the topic, "Karl Marx and International Solidarity." There it was affirmed that international solidarity is a basic feature of proletarian internationalism. Even the birth certificate of the revolutionary Marxist workers movement, the Communist Manifesto, through the call of "Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!" amounts to a galvanizing allegiance to internationalism. International solidarity, as proven by the world image of today, has become a victorious and invincible force.

## Strengthened International Contacts

The solidarity committee's international contacts were greatly strengthened in the fall last year through a consultative meeting of the solidarity committees of socialist countries, which also was for the first time attended by representatives of solidarity organizations in African, Asian and Latin American states socialist in orientation.

Not for the first time, a representative of the solidarity committee, on the invitation from the UN Palestine Commission, was in New York to report to that UN body on the committee's activities relating to the PLO. We can rate that as a high tribute to our active solidarity with the Palestinian people. The solidarity committee appeared at other international conferences as well. Representatives of the solidarity committee, e.g., attended the 16th Palestinian National Congress in Algiers, the international solidarity conference with the Palestinian people in Athens, the UN international Palestine conference in Geneva, and the international conference on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Sabra and Chatila massacre in Athens.

Last year the committee considered one of the priorities of its work the development and consolidation of its relations with international democratic organizations and solidarity committees in Western Europe. The priority there went to the Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity (AAPSO), in which, as one knows, the GDR solidarity committee has a seat in the permanent secretariat and assists in several commissions. AAPSO with its nearly 100 member organizations is a mobilizing force of the African and Asian peoples fighting against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, and for peace and social progress.

Further developed with success also were the contacts with OSPAAAL, the Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Long-time working relations have existed with ICOSA, the international committee against apartheid, racism and colonialism in southern Africa.

We also support the UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) with many aid donations, such as a large shipment of medicines for the children of Kampuchea. We also reacted fast to an UNICEF appeal to send immediate aid to children in Angola who had become victims of South African acts of aggression.

The idea of solidarity is deeply rooted in the GDR working people. Its supporters are the parties, with the SED in the lead, the National Front and the social mass organizations, all the working people as well as our government, which provides the solidarity committee with sound support.

Our heartfelt thanks to the more than 9 million working people, organized in the FDGB, who contribute the most to the solidarity committee fund by their monthly solidarity donations. In full gratitude we find that more and more citizens in our republic personally transmit solidarity contributions to account 444.

All that is solidarity in action. It is our contribution to safeguarding peace and paving the way for progress. And we shall continue in this spirit with all our strength and dedication.

CALL FOR INTENSIVE STUDY OF PERFORMANCE PRINCIPLE

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 32 No 3, Mar 84  
(signed to press 2 Jan 84) pp 193-206

[Article by Martina Thom, of the department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy at  
Karl Marx University in Leipzig: "Karl Marx and Real Humanism"]

[Text] In his keenly perceptive essay of 1919, "The Collapse of Humanism," the Russian poet Aleksandr Blok portrays the crisis in traditional bourgeois humanism, which had idealized the free personality while containing individualism as a consequence of it: The isolated, highly refined personality is fairly dense in confronting the historic acts by the broad masses toward solving social problems and can, in view of the collapse of the old ideals, at best still spawn some "lonely optimism." With it, in this essay Blok presents the vision of a new society, as it entered the scene through the Great Socialist October Revolution--a society that breaks out of the crisis of the traditional ideals and creates, embryonically, the new man: "the new role of personality, a new type of man," no longer fragmented into a "moral," "political," or "humane" man, but the holistic man who "can live and act zealously in the dawning era of whirls and tempests" mankind is uncontainably rushing into.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, with the massive dissemination and efficacy of the working class world-outlook and the practical implementation of its historic goals, a qualitatively novel type of man arrived on the scene, based on the mass movement of the organized working class, led by the communist parties, and represented in real socialist systems. "The history of rising socialism embodies the main line of humanity's historic progress."<sup>2</sup> This main line also takes on a tough struggle against the real anti-humanism of the imperialist arms buildup policy and exploitation as practiced in the countries under capitalist domination. The dispute over a real and massively effective humanism has entered the stage today where it entails all decisive issues of historic progress and touches everybody.

The topic of the Sixth GDR Philosophy Congress was "Socialism and Peace--Humanism in the Struggles of our Time." That marks the precise core of today's issue-taking over the preservation of peace in view of the imperialist arms buildup policy that threatens humanity; it makes the importance of the existence and of a continued humane shaping of socialist social systems stand out, they being the main guarantees for solving the most important questions of human survival. This preserves a continuity with problems discussed at the previous congress (the struggle for peace, socialism as a resolution of the contradiction

between social progress and the situation of the individuals, between the development of the species and of individuals, and others). It also picked up discussions in the Karl Marx Year, especially the results of the international scientific conference, "Karl Marx and Our Time--The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress." While some positions taken by the representatives of the workers parties diverged on some issue or another concerning the movement, a unified platform yet evolved in the outcome, as did an important experience exchange on humanely settling decisive global issues--supported by the basic insights of Marxism-Leninism and the humanistic intent of our world-outlook. That was true, particularly, of the unanimity on placing the struggle for the preservation of peace and for disarmament, an essentially anti-imperialist struggle, in the center of all practical and theoretical efforts and on working with all our strength for social progress and continued socialist development. All speakers demonstrated that the progressive forces' successes in our era would be inconceivable without creatively dealing with the theory and method of the founder of our scientific world-outlook.

The present contribution is meant to be an attempt to trace the humanistic character of the scientific world-outlook Marx developed out of the context that defined the concept of history in historical materialism and thereby explain the new quality of the Marxist humanism concept. By analyzing the social science conference the SED Central Committee had sponsored, and from a deeper understanding of the importance of the humanism debate in our time, tasks arise for our ideological work of which only a few aspects can be considered, of course, in this contribution. We shall start by a general definition of the humanism concept<sup>3</sup> and of the meaning of humanism within the scope of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook.

## I

Humanistic ideals and ideas are as old as the struggle against exploitation and suppression, against wars and social misery and the crippling and the biasing of the mass of individuals in all the history of the class societies heretofore.<sup>4</sup> Humanistic ideals of the past were always articulated within rising progressive class movements, especially among the toiling and exploited masses, as in social utopias. We find them also where they are not explicitly referred to as "humanism." But not until Marx provided a developed scientific world-outlook through a theoretical social and historical system (in its unity of economics, philosophy and scientific socialism including a sound prognosis on the development of the communist society), the humanistic ideas of the past were conceptually defined. Thereby then the Marxist theoretical conception for a humane development of social processes sets criteria for rating different kinds of humanistic aspirations in the past and present. It also absorbs, however, dialectically, the worthwhile elements in all thought about humanity. That holds true, e.g., for the bourgeois-progressive concern to regard man as an end in himself and in his "dignity" (the only value, according to Kant, that must remain without a market price<sup>5</sup>), as well as for the constantly reproduced, if historically modified, ideals and yearnings, value concepts and standards of the broad working masses, in the social labor process and in the process of life, which are no "general human" ideas passed on through the history of ideas, but are expressive of a continuity in the reproduction of vital human concerns. In the



peace issue, as is well known, Marx and Engels several times pointed out that from the social labor process itself arises for the working masses directly the need for peaceful fellowship and that, where a society respects the principle of work, the peoples' external principle is peace.<sup>6</sup> That sets extremely significant switches for the problem of alliances.

In developing his theory, Marx also picks up the traditional humanistic ideals, yet the humanism of the Marxist theory does not just grow out of that heritage in terms of the history of ideas. Rather, this is a reprocessing of essential problems of substance in previous ideals and not a direct substantive transfer of them. When something is picked up, it always is under the aspect of new historic questions and valuations, under specific political intentions and ideological motivations, and with it comes a thorough criticism of the traditional products of consciousness. The method of historical materialism in this sense facilitates a holistic relationship to all previous history and regards the history of ideas as derivative. It integrates pre-Marxist humanistic thought by means of historical materialism, so that a dialectic can be reflected between continuity and discontinuity, between closeness and distance, in relation to the heritage. Such connections are always made from the ground of the new humanism quality in our world-outlook.

Any narrow-mindedness in defining the ideas about humanity is alien to Marxism-Leninism. That is also demonstrated by the richly traditional history of the disputes on these matters. We can today connect with the discussions during the fascist era and after 1945 as conducted by the communists seeking a broad antifascist alliance and specifying the particular concerns of the communist movement. After 1945, e.g., the KPD came out against narrowing the understanding of humanism in terms of the bourgeois Enlightenment, affirming that all spheres of society, the economy, politics, culture, education and so forth, required a humanistic transformation. In the way we see it then, this must not be a narrow concept of a cultural and educational ideal though both cultural and educational ideas are contained in the concept. In talking of the humanistic character of our ideological theory, we are no doubt talking of an evaluating and standard-setting function, which is as significant for the character of the theory as a guide for conduct as for the insight to be gained into the inevitabilities of nature and society. This rating and standard-setting must not be understood in a pragmatic or technicistic sense, but what it amounts to is setting a purpose and goal for human action in shaping the kind of social processes that will ensure historic progress in that men's creative potentials are released and individuals can develop at the height of human culture.

The basic concern in the struggle of the workers class and the communist parties at a world historic dimension is resolving the contradiction, which has become possible through the abolition of class rule, between an overall social progress and the wretched situation of masses of individuals, their extremely limited development potential throughout all the history of the exploiter orders thus far--a contradiction, which has been extremely sharpened, particularly, for the broad masses of the working people under the conditions of the capitalist commodity economy, although the revolutionization of production capitalist industrialization introduced created the prerequisites for unfolding the totality of the human productive forces, but with it also a massive pauperization and deformation of human capabilities. Resolving that contradiction on the basis of



a humanistic objective and meaning became, according to Marx, the noblest task of the new communist, the truly human, society. Understanding the conditions for making this great ambition come true requires a qualitatively new insight of dialectical materialism into the relation between necessity and freedom in history and into the possibilities for restructuring that relation through and after the proletarian revolution. The Marxist-Leninist theory establishes a scientific concept for the relation between necessity and freedom, according to which, based on the revolutionary transformation of the conditions under which social laws function, men's creative potentials become fully developed and effective in that they make conscious and collective decisions in carrying out their purposes. In turn, the unfolding of individualities in their variety is a basic condition for a fully planned, collective organization of society itself. The "Communist Manifesto" offers the first version for this ambition to be defined exactly when the new potentials for the free release of strength in the proletariat's struggle against an inhuman and for a human society are portrayed: "If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonism, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class. -- In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."<sup>7</sup>

We shall first further pursue the question in what sense the Marxist-Leninist theory itself can raise the claim to theoretically establishing humanism or humanity and is itself a "conception of humanism." A more far-reaching clarification of the humanistic character of our theory and an appropriate further development of it by accentuating and, in part, extending its subject matters, intrinsic rationale and structure are necessary not only because we have to come to grips time and time again with bourgeois distortions and calumnies of Marxism-Leninism, but also for reasons of setting objectives for research, training and ideological propaganda, for converting the theory into revolutionary practice and, not last, because of important questions in our consciousness of the tradition and in our broad alliance with all progressive forces fighting for the preservation of peace and for social progress. Sectarian narrowness that conceives of "humanism" as merely a bourgeois or pre-Marxist concept--a misconception that definitely has played a role, and still plays a role at times, in ideological debates even among Marxists--mistakes the nature of our world-outlook in its specific quality and may hurt politically.

As a model for the needed clarification of the question about the humanistic character of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy one may take the issue that has been taken for some 15 years with the conceptions of Althusser and other French structuralists who define Marxism as a "theoretical antihumanism" even though they acknowledge the practical humanity in socialist social orders. We shall here once more briefly comment on this broad debate with Louis Althusser by, mainly, French and FRG<sup>8</sup> Marxists because Althusser's understanding of Marxism seems symptomatic of an extremely dogmatic and "structuralist" conception, yet

it also raises questions concerning general problems in the understanding of dialectic and historical materialism, its web of categories and its ideological functions, questions which are being worked on today in a constructive manner, even if they do need more of a clarification to be understood and presented by our philosophy.

In his essays, "Marxism and Humanism" and "Supplementary Comments on the 'Real Humanism,'" Althusser contends, as one knows, that Marx had broken with all theoretical humanism since his "Theses on Feuerbach" and the "German Ideology" (later he even thought only since "Capital"<sup>9</sup>) because he, originally coming out of the bourgeois-humanistic line of tradition of Hegel and Feuerbach, then set aside all anthropology and thereby "reduced to cinders the myth of man" as the subject of history.<sup>10</sup> The concept of man had become useless as a scientific concept and had been replaced by the concept "ensemble of social relations." Althusser insinuates that Marx, by criticizing Feuerbach's concept of species ("an abstraction inherent in an individual"), and thus the empiricism in the concept of subject, replaced the concepts of man, species and so forth by new categories that determine the ensemble of social relations: mode of production, production relations, productive forces and so forth. That is why one would have to call the theory of Marx a theoretical antihumanism or, rather, ahumanism.<sup>11</sup> Humanism had been admitted only to the field of "ideology," an "essential historical structure of society," which was however no science but functioned in men's practical life as ideas, myths, images and so forth.<sup>12</sup>

Let us nail down one initial misinterpretation: Althusser's position amounts to absolute dogmatism and structuralism, to a fetishistic account of inevitable processes and social structures in history, without paying any attention to the element of human subjectivity in the active, creative, experimental--or what have you--shaping of their actions. For the overall description of the Marxist philosophy, it is typical of this conception that the action-oriented function toward a pure science, "free from value judgments," is conceived as scientifically curtailed. The "axiological" aspect, the element of assigning purpose and meaning, the decision options under that aspect, or the activity and creativeness of men acting on the basis of understanding those laws, are denied to be elements of the theory itself; which then is denigrated as an "ideology," a sort of "mythology" for daily practice. Moreover, such a constriction of the subject matter of the Marxist philosophy, declaring the normative, evaluating and meaning-implanting side of human activities inaccessible to science, would only lend bourgeois misinterpretations a helping hand where--as in K. Popper's "critical rationalism" or also in E. Topitsch--ideology or world-outlook are placed in opposition to science or, though Marxism is generally credited with having a humanistic concern, that is interpreted as a "promise of salvation" or as eschatology, by K. Loewith, e.g., and by others. Historically, humanism as an expression of proletarian ideology ultimately calls for a rational explanation in theoretical form.

Surely Marx first emphasized the insight into the necessity of the processes as being an element of science. Yet he never thereby denied that an insight into a dialectically conceived necessity would also include the freedom of subjectivity as an element and correlative of it. If a theory really wants to be a science of society, it must reflect this objective dialectic and thus also the role of

men, their action and decision potentials and their assigning purpose and meaning in this process; for men in history are no puppets on the strings of a "fatal" (fatalistic) necessity, even if it, as in precommunist societies, prevails spontaneously and blindly, least of all in a communist society relying on planned, purposive and meaningful collective action. This is, it seems to me, an overlapping aspect of the entire philosophy, not containable in a partial discipline, a "partial sector of ethics," as it were. This implies a complex conception of dialectic and historical materialism that must also reflect evaluating, standard-setting, meaning-imparting aspects of the social shaping of the process and, in that sense, action-orienting aspects. This, it seems to me, requires that further thought be given to the manner of presenting our philosophy, based on extensive research to be undertaken cooperatively with other social sciences. One should ponder, e.g., how matters of ethics and aesthetics are to be related organically in an overall presentation, so they will not appear merely as special disciplines "apart from" the system of dialectic and historical materialism. That would not preclude separate research and publications in these fields.

Our presenting the totality of human activities and appropriation has nothing to do with some "moralizing conception of history." (But that is what Althusser insinuates.) The humanistic character of our philosophy must be given expression in the overall presentation, concretely, of the subject-object dialectic, and this, related to the class conflicts in our era. Marxist philosophers have made many efforts in that direction. Yet it also amounts to a permanent developmental problem of our theory that will always again have to be presented and settled anew and more specifically--if only to expand and newly concretize subject matters that have to be worked on.

In this context we must criticize another misinterpretation by Althusser. He overlooks that Marx, with his sixth thesis on Feuerbach, speaks only of the relationship between society and the individual and says nothing concrete about the matter of a human, if historically modified, species-being. Marx criticizes Feuerbach's species-being concept as it replaces that of "society." By ignoring this context, the insinuation is made that in the analysis of social processes necessary and methodologically primary points of departure, such as the ensemble of social relations, which in the last instance proceed from the mode of production and its structural relationship in determining human action and consciousness, rendered the concept of man redundant.

With ease, Marx also uses in his later writings and presentations the concept of "man" to define the species, or he may say "the species of man."<sup>13</sup> (Most of the time, to be sure, he prefers the plural in talking about men, individuals.) The term "ensemble of social relations" does not replace that of "man" or "men" as the subjects of history. He defines society as the sum total of those connections and relations in which men stand historically. Nor does he thereby replace the scientifically understood concept of the species of man (or of mankind) for representing "human nature," which is always of a historical nature modified by human activities and relations, while it also is a "nature by birth," as the biological makeup of man, much as it is subject to historic changes, is of course first of all an important basis and a constant determinant of the labor and

consciousness processes themselves. To be sure, to explain how man enters history, one must proceed from the labor process as a specific metabolism with nature.

The sixth thesis on Feuerbach thus does not define "the nature of man as such," but it says, accurately speaking: What philosophers have thus far defined as the nature of man (a rational being, a species-being, a social being) as an abstraction inherent in the individual, in that general traits of social nature were presupposed a priori (sense of community, traits of the species and so forth), must be turned into comprehending the ensemble of social relations in which men stand, which they of course themselves help produce in the process of practical life, while they constantly again are being determined by them.

The categories of ensemble of social relations (mode of production, production relations and so forth)--the species of man or mankind--human nature (the specific biological makeup as well as the historic modification of that nature both taken into account)--concrete, empirically verifiable individuals as the starting point ("Individuals producing in society--so the socially determined production of the individuals naturally is the starting point."<sup>14</sup> Or else: the natural starting point)--all these categories and definitions are part of the vocabulary of Marx, and thus of the system of categories in dialectic and historical materialism. Only a dialectical understanding of the interrelations among these definitions in the scientific presentation of historical materialism makes possible comprehensively establishing also the humanistic concern and character of our philosophy. After all, in what it has to say and in its practical component as a guide for action, the Marxist-Leninist philosophy pursues the scientifically founded goal to establish an ensemble of social relations that facilitate a rich unfolding of human individualities at a world historic dimension, while it at the same time presupposes that. That is possible only by taking complex human nature into account.

## II

The new quality of the Marxist humanism essentially is due to the scientific explanation for that in "labor as the process in which man creates himself" as a world historic process all the potentials are contained for making humanity really prevail. This pertains to the evidence for the historic development of men's productive capacities through their activities as well as to a scientific analysis of the concrete historic possibility to suspend through revolutionary means the previous antagonistic forms of society, establish the humane communist society brought in by the proletarian revolution, and recognize in this connection the revolutionary subject of this movement, the proletariat, led by the communist party, and the strategy and tactics of its movement. This scientific explicability of humanism also extends to the prognosis on the basic historic tendency of communist society, which Marx himself worked out: the gradual surmounting--lengthy, to be sure, and often painful--of the antagonism between overall social progress and the chances for individual personality development at the proper height of human culture.

Dialectic and historical materialism as a consistent scientific theory on men's opportunity for activities and appropriation and their results in controlling

nature and shaping social processes offers the ideological wherewithal to oppose any narrowing of the conception of man and any one-sided, abstract definition of man, also that of specific individuals, because their specific circumstances of life, their gifts, interests, abilities and the conditions for their developing their abilities can become subject to ideological investigations (through cooperative relations, of course, with other sciences). That was of great importance to Marx' communism prognosis, as we shall show. In his science system, Marx certainly posited men as natural, biologically grown and determined beings but at the same time attached the greatest value to considering what was novel in the factors resulting from their social activity, especially from the production activity, those being the factors that turn man properly into man and have him enter history. Recall how precise Marx and Engels already were in the "German Ideology," where they projected as the first historic deed the production of the means for the satisfaction of needs and did not, in other words, merely speak of the satisfaction of needs.<sup>15</sup> There already--adumbrated in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts"--they suggest, on a philosophical level, the solution of a problem which was completely clarified only much later in science monographs on anthropogenesis. Thus in 1846 already Marx and Engels emphasized the role of the tool, not for obtaining any immediate purpose, but in its world historic dimension in the spreading and involution of human productive capacities, as also the production of new needs in relation to earlier needs already satisfied, the action of satisfaction and of the already acquired instrument to bring satisfaction, and the coproduction of all social "traffic relations" depending on it, the forms of ownership being defined as the decisive relations. The materialist mode of consideration is rigorously carried through in detail, such as in the issue-taking with Proudhon's reconciliation theory according to which, allegedly, contractually entering into division of labor relations induced the introduction of machinery, which missed the real cause and effect equation.

This materialist mode of consideration of necessity includes the reflection of the processes' objective dialectic. They are not presented in a mechanistic-fatalistic manner but understood as a self-production processes of mankind. It is crucial for understanding what Marx meant by humanism to explain that central concern, "man as the creator of himself," to quote Kurella. Already in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," as one knows, industry is singled out as the open book of the essential human capacities.<sup>16</sup> That Marx there, in his scientific investigation, proceeded from the most advanced and dynamic production that was constantly revolutionizing the production and use of machine tools and socioeconomic relations, was of great methodological importance, because there it becomes actually apparent through relative brief time frames that men do make their own history and under what circumstances they do so.

From such insights, Marx logically raises a novel demand on philosophy as a theory and method: It has to be an ideological basis and orientation to work out a science system which deals with nature and men in their real complex and novel metabolism relations. Marx criticizes a science which principally abstracts from the analysis of industry as the real basis for men's relationship with nature and contains merely a utilitaristic evaluation of the labor process.<sup>17</sup> In later works ("German Ideology" and, especially, "Capital") the same demand is rendered more precise; creating a complex science system on human society that captures the "history of the formation of the productive organs of social man,"



reveals man's active response to nature, "his life's immediate production process, and thus also that of his public circumstances of life and the mental ideas they give rise to."<sup>19</sup>

An essential part of the scientific explanation of the new humanism is understanding that the revolutionary subject of modern history is the proletariat. Marx established a humanism that is combative in nature; with it, under prevailing historic conditions it calls for proletarian policy. So politics and humanism, rather than excluding each other, are dependent on each other.<sup>20</sup> In many ways Marx worked out the role of the proletariat as the historic agent of a new humanity, in that he proved the historically necessary struggle by that class would lead to the establishment of a society without exploitation and suppression; in that it was proven that in this struggle new forms of human relations would be generated in the forms of organization, in the form of solidarity, discipline, fighting spirit, internationalism and so forth; in that it is being scientifically explained that this struggle by the proletariat will bring a new mode of production and new superstructure relations offering crucial basic conditions for settling the antagonism between overall social progress and individual developmental opportunities--the latter will receive all potentials for experiencing themselves, individually and in their collective associations, as the true shapers of the new society; in that Marx established that the nature of the labor process, due to the transformation of the property relations, the planned qualitative transformation of the production processes and the new place of "live labor," experiences a fundamental if lengthy change; and in that Marx understood the planned, new shaping of these processes as a means to the end in communist society's basic concern; the development of a new wealth, the wealth of personalities in capabilities, the free development of strength, and the various opportunities of working for one's own purposes.

As far as the history of theory is concerned, the analysis of the role of the workers class gave access to comprehending in the first place the history-forming potentials of the labor process, both of the productive forces and the production relations. In that Marx, starting in 1844, examined the production process, in contrast to views on the national economy governed by bourgeois ideology, not principally under the aspect of the production of material wealth, but directed his attention at the place of live labor in this process, he made far-reaching discoveries about historical processes per se.

### III

These realizations lead compellingly to the Marxist prognosis on the fundamental developmental tendency of communist society and the conditions for its being actively promoted through human acts. Let us briefly turn to that prognosis and, in this connection, to a few problems in the chance of its being brought about under our contemporary conditions.

As one knows, Marx proved that through the proletarian revolution and the organization of production on the basis of the public ownership<sup>21</sup> in the means of production, the relation between necessity and freedom in history can be shaped in a new way and must be shaped that way by men becoming the actual subjects of the historical processes, a lengthy process indeed, as Marx emphasizes, and a

painful one in many respects. In communism we are dealing with an "association of free men who work with their jointly owned means of production and spend their many individual labor capacities self-assuredly as one great social labor capacity."<sup>22</sup> The realm of necessity, the manufacture of material goods, can be made so effective by means of a targeted use of science and technology that beyond it a realm of freedom begins in which, as Marx put it, "human capacity development accepting itself as an end in itself can flourish on that basis."<sup>23</sup> Rich personality development becomes possible; men, through their freely chosen activity, turn into different subjects that, equipped with this new type of wealth in capacity development, flow back again into the production process. This is a wealth which does not, as in capitalism, depend on the theft of working time but on the saving of working time in conformity with the "time economy principle." "To the extent that big industry develops, the creation of real wealth will depend less on working time than on the strength of the agencies put in motion during the working time, and this relative to the general status of science and the progress in technology."<sup>24</sup> Man would more and more become the regulator of the processes instead of being contained within them.

Marx thus defines the dialectic between necessity and freedom with respect to the production process itself as by the relation between the production process and leisure. Freedom in the realm of necessity depends on a qualitative reorganization of the production processes in that the "socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulate this metabolism of theirs with nature and bring it under their joint control instead of being ruled by it as by a blind force, performing with the smallest possible capacity expenditure and under conditions that are most worthy and adequate to their human nature."<sup>25</sup> This fully planned development, adequate to human nature, of the function of human labor with regard to the process of material production then is, according to Marx, itself already a new quality of freedom, an involution of freedom due to collective planning and action, an "exercise of freedom" as "surmounting obstacles per se,"<sup>26</sup> when the "semblance of external natural necessity is shed." Taking issue with Adam Smith, who knows work only in the form of slave, statute or wage labor, as enforced from the outside and asceticism, but also in criticism of Fourier, who in his utopia conceived of work as "mere fun," "mere amusement," in a "sanguine manner,"<sup>27</sup> Marx develops the idea that a long process in the transformation of production work would have to turn it into "travail attractif." All this, however, still takes place in the realm of necessity, within the boundaries set by the satisfaction of material needs. While Adam Smith, however, knows only forced labor and defines freedom, happiness and enjoyment as non-labor, Marx establishes a new happiness of free activity, the collectivity of labor, the self-realization of the subjects, "real freedom": that it found, largely, also along with and beyond the immediate production activity, where it even finds its diversification, always according to inclinations, talents and interests--but even there it is no "game." "Real free work, e.g. composing, precisely is at once damned serious, the most intensive effort."<sup>28</sup> Through freely expending his strength in leisure, the subject changed into another as which it then entered the immediate production process. "This is at once discipline, seen in relation to the growing man, as it is exercise, experimental science, materially creative and embodied science in relation to the man as he has become, in whose mind exists the accumulated knowledge of society."<sup>29</sup>

Working in this comprehensive sense that historically produces men is thus by no means a renouncing of pleasure but a "development of power, of production capabilities and, hence, of the ability as well as of the means for pleasure."<sup>30</sup> This, according to Marx, is the basic historic tendency of true human society as contrasted with its pre-history.<sup>31</sup> Here Marx, through the mature development of his economic theory, opened up the total view on all social spheres and historic processes at the world historic scale and set a model for our practical and theoretical work of today that is going on under complicated external and internal conditions.

Our society depends on every working person's shared thinking and shaping, his activity and creativeness, his disciplined and idea-rich work. Conversely, our socialist development offers everyone the chance to develop his specific abilities, to apply his performance capacity with social approval, to engage in diverse activities for his own purpose and to assume rich social relations, because we are dealing here, after all, with the first social organization that is totally human. For all that, social organization is no mere skeleton condition; its vitality and further development depend on the daily cooperation and deliberate involvement by men. Hegel's remark that nothing great happens in history without the passion of individuals who make the common cause their own cause<sup>32</sup> is true of socialism to the highest degree. This passion of people for the common cause is however not yet automatically produced by setting up socialist conditions and a social security system; its development depends on a prudent development and handling of the stimuli and driving forces for capacity development and performance dedication that socialism finds possible.

For social science work as interdisciplinary work, which the GDR philosophers, despite all the advances in this field, undoubtedly must push for still more, it logically follows to pay greater attention to the issues of personality and collective development under our concrete struggle conditions at an international scale and in accordance with the main trends in our development as set down in the party resolutions, and to lead the debate on the questions of humanistically structuring our society that has long gone on, systematically to further insights.<sup>33</sup> Enhancing and effectively using men's performance capacity, so greatly needed for our further consolidation and development as for the defense capacity of socialism, presupposes, as one knows, a prudent and target-directed policy for the development of the diverse gifts and social relations of individuals. Decisive foundations for the development of strongly performing socialist personalities surely are indicated in many respects: for one thing, in that people, in accordance with their gifts and talents, aptitudes and interests, receive a sensitive encouragement for their performance capabilities and are socially recognized as they show their readiness for performance dedication; then also, in that the collective relations within which an individual is placed are cultivated to the extent that a personality is assigned in terms of its strength in performance, interests and capabilities to be able to do the very best possible for society. The principle governing the socialist phase of communist society does not merely say "to each according to his performance," but it is preceded by "from each according to his abilities."



The socialist personality image as an abstraction would miss the diversity and complexity of individual and collective development. That has been extensively debated in our literature in years past. In this context, formulating an ambitious personality image then has an important function. It expresses the level of our socialist society, after all, and is at once an objective social need that socialist personalities be measured by demanding criteria. On a socialist personality we make the demand to be strong in performance (possibly by means of top achievements in science), to have a developed social consciousness and show a sense of responsibility and commitment to all concerns of public life, to develop a high degree of readiness for collective work, to excel by a clear class standpoint and so forth. The question what importance such an "ideal formation" and its normative application have for social progress has lately been debated more broadly and with greater discrimination; it surely needs further research. Some authors, e.g., have properly cautioned against applying such criteria, important though they are, like abstract ideals to men, thereby perhaps wishing to derive even the "value" of an individual and of his work for society, without taking into account the concrete developmental and living conditions and the very uneven talents and abilities.<sup>34</sup> Decisive for the vitality of our society and its real humanism is, precisely, the development of this new wealth in encouraging and challenging men as the true subjects of history while making them aware of the history-shaping capacity they have.

We therefore understand Marx' ideas of a communist personality image in its unity as an embodiment of socially necessary characteristics and modes of conduct and the development of unique individualities. In this wealth of individuality development at the height of overall social requirements and culture, through planned and collective cooperation, an immense impulse for social progress develops. These Marxist prognoses already prove feasible in our socialist society because, after all, they are no utopian long-range goals but characteristics of the process: "In all stages of our development we have been bringing to realization, as an inseparable component of our policy for the good of the people, the Marxist-Leninist cultural ideal of the universally developed personality--a personality with a high scientific polytechnically oriented general education and good technical knowledge, with creative abilities, a sense for community and a sense of political responsibility, with a unique and unimitable individuality--and this always in conformity with historically concrete conditions and opportunities."<sup>35</sup> That implies "tracking down what a man is best suited for and how he can be enabled and encouraged for top achievements in his field."<sup>36</sup> Thereby are also formulated decisive preconditions for the complicated process of resolutely dealing with the socialist performance principle, a principle of an all-inclusive social acknowledgement of the achievements and endeavors of each individual.

The immense importance the performance principle has for socialist society calls for still more target-directed and cooperative efforts by the social scientists on the problems of its prerequisites, its handling in the different occupational branches by comparing the various branches, and its manner of being entwined with our party's overall strategy in the development of our unified economic and social policies. We must in this context resolutely oppose all those notions that would interpret that principle exclusively as a principle for material distribution, in the form of individual reimbursement, whereby they encourage the idea this is a "birthmark" from capitalist society, promoting ahuman features, such as merely thinking in terms of consumption.<sup>37</sup> That totally misinterprets the truly humane

substance of our complex development, and furthermore, the concrete historic conditions for the development of humanity are ignored, which would render any claim to humanism impotent in the light of reality. A concrete historic approach, however, conversely also requires at the same time of social science research and propaganda work never to lose sight of the overall strategy and the "meaning" in the shaping of socialism in all its spheres by covering that up through a (certainly frequently necessary) pragmatic perspective and decision.

That total strategy, as one knows, is clearly expressed in our party program and other documents, in particular also in the theses for the Karl Marx Year. It invariably aims at the people's well-being, happiness and opportunities for active development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. A. Blok, "The Collapse of Humanism," "Lyrik und Prosa" [Poetry and Prose], Berlin, 1982, pp 344 f.
2. K. Hager, "Inevitabilities of Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 December 1983, p 3.
3. The terms humanism and humanity are sometimes differentiated in semantic terms, the former relating to theories or ideas, the latter to the process of real life under the aspect of modes of conduct and bestowing purpose. Our ideological literature usually does not differentiate and unfortunately often does not define the terms precisely, though much is being said in various contexts about "humanism."
4. Cf. H. Klenner, "Marxismus und Menschenrechte. Studien zur Rechtsphilosophie" [Marxism and Human Rights--Studies on the Philosophy of Right], Berlin, 1982, pp 13 f.
5. Cf. I. Kant, "Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Morals," Leipzig, 1983, p 252.
6. Cf. K. Marx, "First Address on the Franco-German War," K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 17, Berlin, 1967, p 7; also cf. K. Marx, "Inaugural Address for the International Working-Men Association," "Werke," Vol 16, Berlin, 1962, p 13; "Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p 479.
7. "Communist Manifesto," loc. cit., p 482. - In his book, "Abendlicht" [Dusk], Stephan Hermlin presented that passage, which he had long thought reads the other way around ("the free development of all--the condition for the free development of each"), as a great revelation to himself. The social relations-individuality equation must be understood dialectically: When we ask about the primary conditions for the determination of human acts, creating new relations becomes the condition for the free development of each. When we ask about the meaning of that development, in the perspective of communist development that would amount to the developmental

opportunities for each individuality in all its wealth--with the repercussions this again has on modifying social relations and their progression (cf. St. Hermlin, "Abendlicht," Leipzig, 1979, p 23).

8. Cf. M. Hahn/H. J. Sandkuehler, "Subjekt der Geschichte. Studien zur Dialektik" [Subject of History--Studies on the Dialectic], Cologne, 1980; G. Rueckriem/F. Tomberg/ W. Volpert, "Historischer Materialismus und menschliche Natur" [Historical Materialism and Human Nature], Cologne, 1978.
9. Cf. L. Althusser, "Das Kapital lesen" [Reading "Capital"], Hamburg, 1972, Vol I, pp 37, 50.
10. Cf. L. Althusser, "Fuer Marx" [For Marx], Frankfurt/Main, 1968, p 887.
11. Cf. Althusser, "Das Kapital lesen," Vol I, p 158; cf. also L. Althusser, "Fuer Marx," p 181.
12. Cf. L. Althusser, "Fuer Marx," pp 182 f.
13. Cf. K. Marx, "Theories of Surplus Value," Part 2, "Werke," Vol 26.2, Berlin, 1976, p 111; Part 1, "Werke," Vol 26.1, Berlin, 1963, p 260.
14. K. Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1953, p 5.
15. Cf. K. Marx/F. Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol III, Berlin, 1968, p 28.
16. Cf. K. Marx, "The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," "Werke," supplementary volume, Part 1, Berlin, 1968, p 542.
17. Ibid., pp 271 f.
18. Cf. K. Marx/F. Engels, "The German Ideology," loc. cit., p 27.
19. K. Marx, "Capital, Vol I," "Werke," Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, pp 392 f.
20. Cf. A. Kurella, "Disintegration and Triumph of Humanism (1936)," "Das Eigene und das Fremde. Beitrage zum sozialistischen Humanismus" [One's Own and That of Others--Contributions to Socialist Humanism], Berlin, 1981, pp 60 f.
21. Y. Andropov has shown that the transformation of property relations, practically as well as in its effect on consciously proceeding from "mine" to "ours," is a lengthy process (cf. Y. Andropov, "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 February 1983).
22. K. Marx, "Capital, Vol I," loc. cit., p 92.
23. K. Marx, "Capital, Vol III," "Werke," Vol 25, Berlin, 1964, p 828.
24. K. Marx, "Principles . . .," loc. cit., p 592.

25. K. Marx, "Capital, Vol III," loc. cit., p 828.
26. K. Marx, "Principles . . .," loc. cit., pp 504 f.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., pp 599 f.
30. Ibid.
31. K. Marx, "Critique of Political Economy, Preface," "Werke," Vol 13, Berlin, 1961, p 9.
32. Cf. G. W. F. Hegel, "Lectures on the Philosophy of History, Introduction," Leipzig, 1920, pp 58 f.
33. Out of the great number of publications (monographs, articles), the following new studies may be referred to: G. Stiehler, "Individualitaet im Sozialismus," Berlin, 1978; H. E. Hoerz, "Blickpunkt Persoenlichkeit," Berlin, 1978; I. Doelling, "Naturwesen--Individuum--Persoenlichkeit," Berlin, 1978; O. Reinhold, "Mensch und Oekonomie," Berlin, 1983; and Authors' Collective headed by A. Kosing, "Dialektik des Sozialismus," Berlin, 1981.
34. Cf. in terms of the general ideological aspect, but also from the standpoint of medical ethics: S. Hahn/A. Thom, "Sinnvolle Lebensbewahrung--humanes Sterben" [Meaningful Living--Humane Dying], Berlin, 1983, pp 24-26; also U. Koerner, "Dying and Death and the Meaning of Life," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 7, 1982, pp 886-890; I. Doelling, op. cit., p 132.
35. K. Hager, "Inevitabilities . . .," loc. cit., p 5.
36. Ibid.
37. Such notions are at times encountered in propaganda work, mainly among youths. But- I cannot accept the ideas of N. I. Udowenko, in his "The Development of Collectivism--The Main Approach to Settling Contradictions in Socialism," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 9, 1983. He interprets the necessarily lengthy survival of the commodity-money relation in socialism, for reasons of internal development as well as of the confrontation with the capitalist world system (of which he, incidentally abstracts) as, in principle, opposed to the "natural" and "biosocial nature of man" commensurate with collectivism and as mere birthmark of capitalist society. The concept developed from that, that we should already be able to find ways to turn back this commodity-money relation, and this by means of living communes, seems illusory to me.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEVELOPMENT OF NAVAL OFFICER'S SCHOOL REVIEWED

Koblenz MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in German Mar 84 pp 108-110

[Article by Peter Joachim Lapp, member, DEUTSCHLANDFUNK editorial staff and instructor at the seminar for political science at the University of Cologne: "The Officer's School of the People's Navy 'Karl Liebknecht' in Stralsund"]

[Text] Today's Karl Liebknecht Officer's School (OHS) of the People's Navy (VM) of the GDR came out of the "Naval Police Officer's School" that had been set up in 1952. That teaching institution later became the "Naval People's Police Officer's School."

On 1 July 1956, that school was combined with the "Technical Engineering Teaching Institute" that had been set up in 1952/53 and became the Naval Officer's School of the naval forces of the National People's Army (NVA). Since then, the studies for officer candidates take 4 years. Early in 1971 (4 January), the officer's school for the NVA naval forces or the NVA People's Navy (since 1960) obtained officer's college status. Studies ended after 4 years with promotion to lieutenant and the awarding of a civil "college engineer" certificate.<sup>1</sup>

As full academic studies have been introduced in all GDR officer's colleges since 1 September 1983, starting in 1987 the first lieutenants at these institutions will earn a graduate degree at the end.<sup>2</sup>

At this time a Vice Admiral is in charge of the OHS of the VM. This "commander" of the OHS is in charge of four sections (= subject fields) with circa 100 training officers in eight departments.

The sections are: naval officers, naval machine officers, social sciences and general principles.

VM staff officers are in charge of these sections, most of them having the rank of captain at sea.

According to the commander of the OHS of the VM, in the spring of 1982, 80 percent of the teaching staff had the first or second academic degree (i.e. a diploma or doctorate in a branch of science).<sup>3</sup>

Officer candidates are trained in three specialties ("profiles"): (1) as naval officer, (2) as naval machine officer, and (3) (since 1 September 1983) as VM political officer. The following school graduation prerequisites exist for training as a career officer in the NVA:

- Graduation from an expanded secondary school, or
- complete vocational training with secondary school graduation, or
- completion of the 10th grade at a polytechnical secondary school plus vocational training and college admission through a one-year course as officer candidate.

VM officer candidates must also pass a selective admissions examination at the OHS.

## The Training and Education at the OHS Sections

### (a) Naval Officer Section

The naval officers (as well as other officers) to be trained at the OHS must qualify by their "Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, their character and their attitude, and also by their experiences, knowledge, skills and capabilities" for the profession of a communist naval officer.

The special training for the future naval officers in the theoretical field includes the following subjects: Ship command/navigational training; naval warfare history; military geography; telecommunications; structure and employment of weapons; and naval tactics.<sup>4</sup>

Training is given mainly in the form of group exercises and training on command posts and combat stations. The section has the most modern teaching equipment available for it. That includes 70 showcases, laboratories and workshops. The OHS furthermore has a planetarium, a computer center, navigational training equipment, a radar simulator, engine cockpits, a naval security simulator, various training complexes for weapons technology, gyms and sports installations and firing ranges.

Last, but no least: The OHS has its own "training ship brigade" with a larger motorboat, smaller motorboats and some other boats (including sailboats).

The special training referred to above essentially begins in the second year of study and is accompanied with intensive practical training which includes: school boat training; naval crews; organization of service aboard (DaB); naval security; and weapon and equipment practice.

The priorities here are training aboard battleships and combat vehicles, naval practice and school ship training on the "Ostsee/Nordsee" and on "Grosse Fahrt."

The "Grosse Fahrt" school ship training (in the fourth year of studies) takes the officer candidates, on the VM motor school boat Wilhelm Pieck, either via the northern route to Murmansk (7,000 sm) or on a southern route to the ports of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea (10,000 sm). Western or neutral ports, with the exception of Yugoslav bases, are avoided.

The 4 years of OHS training end with the chief examination for officers and the writing of a thesis. Promoted to lieutenant (one has done away with the addition "at sea"), he will be awarded the academic degree of graduate engineer (transportation) as of 1987.<sup>5</sup>

(b) Naval Machine Officers Section

The special training for officer candidates in this section includes the following subjects, among others:

Principles of naval machine operations; electronics and electrical engineering; testing, steering and control techniques; heat and flow doctrine; technical and theoretical mechanics; operations of diesel engines, ship gas turbines, motor vehicles and working machinery of different kind; technical naval security (maintenance); naval safety and theory; and order of battle in the machine sector.<sup>6</sup>

Practical naval exercises are added to the studies, and the officer candidate in this specialty gets a practical course at a shipyard.

OHS graduation like naval officer: lieutenant and (from 1987 on) graduate engineer.

(c) Social Science Section

An NVA and VM officer is a "political officer," 99 percent of the officers corps has SED membership.

During the 4-year OHS training, the officer candidates in all specialties receive extensive "social science training." The subjects are: Marxist-Leninist philosophy; political economy; military economy; scientific communism; the history of the German and international workers movement; conducting party work in the navy; and military history, military education, and military psychology.<sup>7</sup>

All officer candidates are instructed in these subjects, as mentioned.

A future VM political officer furthermore gets more intensive social science training while he also must be a good "military specialist." That is why the VM political officer's specialty is tied to a naval officer qualification.<sup>8</sup> That might eventually overtax the new political officers.

By introducing the "VM Political Officer" specialty at the OHS, the canon of subjects mentioned above was expanded by the following subjects: The history of the CPSU, the SED and the GDR; ethics and defense ethics; aesthetics and theory of culture; political and economic geography; socialist law; agitprop methodology; rhetoric; and defense sociology.<sup>9</sup>

The studies end with promotion to lieutenant and the awarding of the academic degree of graduate social scientist (as of 1987).



VM political officers are assigned as deputy commanders aboard a ship or boat, as deputy commanders for political work in a department, or as instructors in propaganda and youth work. They are SED functionaries in naval uniform and have to ensure SED influence in the navy under any conditions.

#### (d) General Principles Section

During their studies all officer candidates pass through this section, an emphasis being placed on the first year, however. They are taught mathematics and natural sciences, engineering techniques and foreign languages. They are also instructed in naval military affairs and military sports. That includes the following opportunities:

Basic and advanced mathematics, physics, electronics, measuring techniques, ADP, automated control systems, laboratory practice and exercises; naval crew, drill and firing, protective and medical training, organizing duty aboard, law and military regulations; Russian (all specialties) and English (two specialties); and military sports.<sup>10</sup>

#### General Remarks and Summary

The OHS of the VM claims to have largely adapted its training guidelines to those of Soviet naval academies.<sup>11</sup>

The OHS leadership and teaching staff maintain regular contacts, principally, with the Soviet M. V. Frunze Naval Officer's College in Leningrad, agreements being in effect on an annual study exchange of delegations and working teams. Soviet teaching materials, training principles and standards (in part translated) are "used" at the OHS (as in the VM at large): the USSR and its navy rate officially as the "masters in instruction."<sup>12</sup>

Every year, circa 150 graduates come out of the OHS of the VM with the rank of lieutenant. They are well trained, technically and in party terms, and, like all other NVA officers, enjoy some privileges (a relatively high salary, better taken care of for vital goods and housing, above-average furlough periods, and a high official appreciation).

An NVA career officer must serve at least for 25 years. When the performance is unsatisfactory or there is a shortage of positions, an officer can, however, be discharged at any time. Then he usually gets a middle-level post in the party, state or economic administration.

No more than 10 percent of VM officers--after continuing education at GDR or Soviet military academies--will acquire the rank of "captain at sea" or flag officers' positions.

Proportions of Subjects of Training and Mode of Training at the OHS of the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR, According to Data on NVA Calendar 1982, East Berlin, 1981, p 123:

Subjects of Training (as to specialties):

Social science training including military education and psychology	20%
Military training	38-46%
Technical military training	20-25%
Mathematics and natural science training and basic technical training including foreign languages	10-15%

Mode of Training:

Lectures, seminars, colloquies	42%
Practical instruction	33%
Troop practice	9%
Self study, work on one's own	11%
Performance tests, examinations	5%

FOOTNOTES

1. Political Main Administration of the NVA, "Die Volksmarine der NVA" East Berlin, 1970, p 31.
2. Vice Admiral Prof Dr W. Nordin, "The Officer's School of the People's Navy 'Karl Liebkecht,'" MILITAERTECHNIK, No 3, 1982, pp 116 ff.
3. Ibid., p 118.
4. Captain at Sea L. Zaehler, graduate military specialist, "The Officer's School of the People's Navy 'Karl Liebkecht,' Naval Officers Section," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 5, 1982, pp 230 ff.
5. "Officer of the People's Navy (Career Survey)," "Hochschulberufe" (College Trades), published by Herbert Thur, Zwickau and Oberlungwitz, 1982, pp 91-92.
6. Captain at Sea Graduate Economic Engineer S. John, "The Officer's School of the People's Navy 'Karl Liebkecht,' Naval Machine Officers Section," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 6, 1982, pp 293 ff.
7. Captain at Sea Dr A. Figura, "The Officer's School of the People's Navy 'Karl Liebkecht,' Social Sciences Section," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 1, 1983, pp 5 ff.
8. Ibid., p 6.
9. Ibid., p 6.
10. Flag Captain Dr H. Santen, "The Officer's School of the People's Navy 'Karl Liebkecht,' General Principles Section," MILITAERTECHNIK, No 2, 1983, pp 60 ff
11. Cmdr graduate J. Endler, "Using Soviet Naval Experiences All-around," MILITAERWESEN, Vol 21 (1977), No 12, pp 54 ff.
12. Ibid., p 58.

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT VIEWED AS INEXHAUSTIBLE RESOURCE

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 32 No 3, Mar 84  
(signed to press 2 Jan 84) pp 207-213

[Article by Lieselotte Steitz, of the Institute for Scientific Communism of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences: "Individuality and the Socialist Way of Life"]

[Text] In exploring here connections between individuality and the socialist way of life and the place and function of the formation of individuality within the developmental tendencies of the socialist way of life, we examine that relative to the following theoretical-ideological and practical-political requirements:

First, developmental tendencies and problems of the way of life have undoubtedly obtained a central and constantly growing place value in the international class conflict because all questions raised by the changes in economic, social and political development culminate in the way of life in so far as they concern the objective position of man in the opposing social systems and his subjective position on a given social order.

Second, in this conflict, the socialist way of life has proven, and must constantly again prove itself, an advantage of socialist society in that it produces objective and subjective conditions facilitating an all-round formation of individuality and requiring its unfolding through creative activity that shapes society.

Third, not until we have a socialist society is that stage in human development introduced which historically surmounts the "personal independence" based on an objective dependency by "free individuality based on the universal development of individuals and the subordination of their communal, social productivity, it being their social capacity."<sup>1</sup> Introduced because the massive development of individuality can only begin when on the basis of the socialist mode of production a way of life is forming that requires and facilitates the all-round development of men. Because "the universally developed individuals whose social relations as their own communal connections also come under their own joint control are not a product of nature but one of history."<sup>2</sup>

This historic aspect also has to be taken account of when we want to assess the terms for the shaping of individuality on the given level of development or must evaluate new requirements placed on that development. Subjecting societal relations to societal control neither is a one-time historic act nor a merely theoretical abstraction but a deeply practical process of consciously shaping the developed socialist society from which today and in years ahead new demands arise for the massive development of individuality, primarily from the tasks that have to be resolved in the transition to the principally intensively expanded reproduction.

The question about the place of individuality in socialist society<sup>3</sup> and the terms and chances of a social and individual way of life that nurtures individuality is part of the more general question of which social order is in the position to shape scientific-technical, economic and social progress as a unified process and also ensure real humanism under the conditions of transition to an extensively expanded reproduction. By humanism we here understand, with reference to H. Schliwa, the existence and development of social conditions "that invoke and promote a high material and cultural standard of living, the all-round development of personalities and interhuman relations marked by comradeship and mutual assistance."<sup>4</sup> In such concrete manifestations the real humanism of socialist society becomes practically experienced and personally significant.

Under three aspects these concrete manifestations of humanism become indispensable connecting links between the general humanistic quality of socialist society and the given individual development into socialist personality: First, they are conditions for the personal (individual) way of life; as such they pass on the socialist character of the social way of life, via real possibilities, to personal activities and modes of conduct. Second, they are the general foundations for one's personal experiences with real socialism. From these experiences one learns to compare the humanist character of the socialist way of life with the increasingly anti-humane manifestations in the capitalist way of life caused by the character of the capitalist mode of production. Third, the manifestations of humanism referred to, finally, embody the meaning and purpose of our unified economic and social policy. That the meaning of socialism, to do everything for the good of the people, is not only a social possibility but also becomes a personally experienced reality provides the individual with the sense of social comfort, which in turn reinforces and nurtures a personal identification with socialism, i.e., significantly affects the personality's basic attitude toward social requirements.

The interrelations between social requirements and individuality formation capture a point of culmination for theoretical-ideological and practical-political problems of relevance. The formation of individuality is the process that develops an individual into a personality.<sup>5</sup> It results not from the society's meeting demands from the individual nor from any socially unrelated "self-realization," but from the individual's own active attitude toward social requirements. One has to agree with G. Stiehler here who has made the point that not only envisaged individual possibilities are being developed in socialism but possibilities are also newly posited "in that the individuals are subject to a forcible development that brings out the wealth of personality as the result of social requirements."<sup>6</sup> Performance demands and the "self-realization" of individuality therefore are not in contradiction under socialist social relations but form a multi-layered contradictory unity.

In relating the performance requirements to the tasks that have to be resolved in the transition to a principally intensively expanded reproduction, our considerations return to the point from which we started: The concrete manifestations of real humanism (standard of living, personality development and interhuman relations) express the three aspects of the unified socialist reproduction process and their effects on the socialist way of life. The reproduction of the GNP, the totality of the means of production and consumption, includes the objective working and living conditions and controls the degree to which material and intellectual needs are satisfied, i.e. the possibility for ensuring and gradually raising the material and intellectual standard of living. The reproduction of the social labor capacity entails essential elements of personality development under the aspect of the simple and expanded reproduction of the individuals' work capability and of new demands made on their general disposition. The reproduction of the socialist production relations, as the socioeconomic basis for the advantages of socialism, determines the social quality of interhuman relations in all walks of life. These objective connections also reveal that and how changes in the mode of production through the transition to a new type of reproduction determine the developmental tendencies of the socialist way of life because the living conditions and the standard of living, personality and social relations are essential elements of the way of life which also have repercussions on economic development. E. g., the socialist quality of social relations greatly affects performance readiness and performance attitude, as both sociological surveys and practical experiences have shown. This similarly also applies to the living conditions, including and highlighted by the working conditions, which through their share in personality development motivate for performance. Personality development itself is increasingly becoming a necessary prerequisite for economic progress because it produces the creative potentials that are indispensable for accelerating scientific-technical progress (from basic research to introducing new technical, technological and organizational solutions to production).

Personality development is and also remains under qualitatively changed reproduction conditions the only inexhaustible source for social productivity. It therefore is a priority task for socialist management activity on all levels and in all sectors to shape the objective and subjective conditions for personality development consciously. The "all-round development of the abilities and talents of personality for the good of the individual and of all socialist society"<sup>7</sup> is singled out in the SED Program as the loftiest goal of the revolutionary workers movement and the substance in the further shaping of the socialist way of life. Implementing that orientation is a complicated and contradictory process that makes the highest demands on social and individual responsibility.

Already the objective place of the individual in socialist society is marked by a productive contradiction G. Stiehler refers to: An individual in his individual subjectivity initially relates to himself but, with it, also not to himself but to society, and social mediations in their universality are the prerequisite and basis for the universality of personality development.<sup>8</sup> From that follows the individual responsibility for developing one's own abilities and gifts as well as the social responsibility for shaping personality-promoting conditions in all walks of life. "The shaping and perfecting of socialist society is an ongoing process in which this contradiction arises and is resolved; it is a

contradiction that pushes ahead and furthers society as well as the individual."<sup>9</sup> It also affects the concrete relations between individuality and the socialist way of life.

The socialist way of life not only places standards on shaping one's individual life and is thus not reducible to socialist ethics though it has an irreplaceable consciousness-forming and action-orienting function in the social and individual way of life. The way of life always is a dialectical unity of conditions, activities and consciousness, the conditions (social and individual living conditions) exercising the determining function. R. Miller therefore emphasized: The conscious shaping of the substance of human activities in all walks of life, "mainly through a planned progressive alteration of the terms in this activity and through ever better control over the dialectical interrelations between economic, social and ideological processes--that is the essence of the crucial task that today has to be practically resolved in the continued shaping of the socialist way of life."<sup>10</sup>

Personality development proceeds also through the activity of the people under any given concrete social and individual conditions which are appropriated, used and altered precisely by means of that activity. How an active man conducts himself under his living conditions, that is determined by his educational level, his culture, his experiences and habits and, particularly, by his ideologically molded basic stance. The determining function of the living conditions is, however, not realized through linear causality, i.e., identical or similar conditions are not bound to result in identical behavior patterns by individuals but are channeled through consciousness development, ideology and other subjective factors. In spite of that, the personality-promoting shaping of the objective social and individual living conditions remains a priority task because they set the framework for the possibilities and limits in every activity. Recognizing this fact is the foremost and indispensable prerequisite for a consistent materialist position in explaining the demands made on the personality's thinking, acting and conduct. Requirements not proceeding from concrete conditions, wherefore they cannot be met even though a willingness for them exists because the conditions for them are lacking, may lead to conflicts, contradictions and resigned conduct with regard to social requirements.<sup>11</sup>

Recognizing the determining role of the social and individual living conditions for personality development and for the further shaping of the socialist way of life as its foundation<sup>12</sup> also is prerequisite to a consistent materialist position in the ideological confrontation with bourgeois conceptions which are placing a one-sided emphasis on activities as if they were voluntaristic absolutes. As intellectual reflection of the objective incapability by imperialist policy to combine economic development with universal human development one may rate those attempts that are proposing seemingly alternative social models,<sup>13</sup> while they in fact do not place in doubt the reality of the foundations of the capitalist economic order. R. Dahrendorf, e.g., acknowledges a "decline of the labor society" and postulates, as a "way out," an "activity society taking for its model a life of autonomous activity."<sup>14</sup> Apart from the reservation he himself emphasizes, to keep open "hope for many and a chance for some,"<sup>15</sup> the unequivocal renouncing of any recognition of objective social conditions under which alone activity can proceed here becomes the premise for a theoretical construct. He does accept the basic position of all so-called alternative forms of



life and models of "counter-societies" in asking for support for the "attempt many people make to shape their own lives in accordance with their own ideas."<sup>16</sup>

A comprehensive ideological analysis of such and similar conceptions is urgently needed though it cannot be provided in the present contribution. It may merely be pointed out that even those who would want to put such voluntaristic conceptions into practice cannot do without first creating the conditions for a life in "alternative groups." That such "alternative forms of life" cannot exist outside or independent of social relations is understood at once from the vantage point of dialectical materialism. They are concrete manifestations of the capitalist way of life articulated as protest against the prevailing anti-individual practices in imperialist social policy. They fall under the judgment Marx offered on retrospective illusions: "On former levels of development, the individual seems fuller simply because he has not yet worked out the wealth of his relations and placed himself opposite to them as independent social capacities and relationships. Ridiculous as it would be to hanker after that original fullness, equally ridiculous is the belief to come to a halt with that full depletion. About the contrast to that Romantic notion the bourgeois view never managed to rise and that is why it, as a well called-for contrast, will go along with it to its blessed end."<sup>17</sup> Under that aspect, real alternatives to the universal development of man can be found only in the socialist way of life which, visibly to all, has proven in practice, through its comprehensive social security, its historic superiority over the capitalist way of life.

What demonstrates the developmental level of individuality today? It is the basis for the increasing desires and demands for personality affirmation in always concrete labor activities. It appears however also as a demand on personality-promoting working conditions and other living conditions because individuality can develop and unfold only by an active appropriation of the conditions always molded by society's concrete developmental stage. "Appropriation thus refers to the process in which an individual appropriates certain social conditions and thereby forms any individual specifics. Appropriation based on embodiment embraces in the wide sense all the material and intellectual legacy of society in its diverse forms. The appropriation of this social legacy is a process of actively absorbing and further developing what one has appropriated, in which the individuals further develop and specialize their abilities and thus develop their specific individuality, sociohistorically conditioned."<sup>18</sup> In this sense the process of concrete appropriation is the objective criterion for the developmental level of individuality the shaping of which comes, not from demands made on society, but through actively responding to social requirements. In the appropriation process the developmental level of individuality is seen in the ability to become a subject of social processes.<sup>19</sup>

Appropriation through concrete work activity under any given conditions, which however constantly alter through the process of socialist intensification, is a decisive testing ground for developing subjectivity. Undoubtedly, the chances for that are not everywhere the same in socialism either, yet we may accept as proven that not only personality-promoting working conditions offer the chance to act as a subject of objective processes. Overcoming obstacles to achieve the purpose of labor, through labor, was something Marx defined as an "activity of freedom," considering as "real freedom the self-realization and embodiment of



the subject, the work constituting his action."<sup>20</sup> The socialist property relations abolish those social conditions that had obstructed or prevented the development of subjectivity in the labor process. Overcoming obstacles resulting from the uneven developmental levels of the productive forces is the substance and task in the activity of the working people as socialist proprietors, is an essential sign of their behaving as proprietors.

The behavior as proprietors in turn is a concentrated expression of the ability and readiness to act as subject of social processes. In the transition to the principally intensively expanded reproduction it has to stand up particularly in solving those tasks that serve the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress, the planned shaping of its social effects and all other measures for boosting the economic capacity. Relative to this general connection and the complex character of its effects on and demands for the development of individuality, we shall refer to selected problems here the solution of which is of equal importance to economic and to personality development.<sup>21</sup>

There we find first of all entirely new considerations due to altered conditions for personality development within the collective. The fact that an individual "can develop his subjectivity universally only through collective activity"<sup>22</sup> is experienced subjectively and directly and also is reflected by the individual's firm linkage with his work collective. Forming such stable relations between the work collective as a whole and its individual members is a concrete task for exercising a given subjectivity of one's own. The dynamic processes in economic development more and more frequently and faster are leading to structural changes that require reorganizations or new organizations of work collectives. Practical experiences have demonstrated that this process may lead to conflicts of interests if insufficient attention is given to the new tasks resulting from such increasing dynamics. That is why one must pay the greatest attention to newly forming collectives. This makes high demands on the capabilities of personality and makes still clearer that not only collectivity forms personality but that, in turn, highly developed personalities are needed to set up efficient work collectives. There one also has to find out, as K. Hager has stressed, "what a person is best suited for and how he can be enabled and encouraged for top achievements in his field."<sup>23</sup>

Another problem that is closely connected with what has been said comes out of the new demands for an employment versatility of socialist personalities. No doubt, training and purpose-related continuing education are indispensable prerequisites for employment variability. Yet not only the ability, the readiness as well, for changing jobs must more strongly be developed if an individual is to assert himself as the subject over the dynamic processes in socialist rationalization.

Finally, the developmental level of subjectivity is revealed by creative activity and a diversified democratic activity. They are essential signs of the socialist way of life and a concentrated expression of socialist modes of thought and action. Creative activity and diversified democratic activity also are those traits of universally developed socialist personalities that bring about repercussions by the socialist way of life on economic development.

# FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Berlin, 1953, p 75.
2. Ibid., p 79.
3. For the positions taken here we rely on G. Stiehler, "Ueber den Wert der Individualitaet im Sozialismus" (On the Value of Individuality in Socialism), Berlin, 1978.
4. H. Schliwa, "Performance and Humanism," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE (DZfPh), No 12, 1982, p 1432.
5. G. Stiehler points to a fourfold use of the personality concept in Marxist-Leninist literature: 1. personality is understood as a general type, given by a specific form of society or class; 2. the personality type functions as a norm confronting the individual, through social requirements and ideological effects, as a task and demand; 3. one speaks of personality types with regard to the general character of political-ideological behavior based on the given historic personality type; and 4. the personality concept expresses the dignity and integrity of the individual. (Cf. G. Stiehler, op. cit., pp 12 ff).
6. Ibid., p 67.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 56.
8. Cf. G. Stiehler, op. cit., p 59.
9. Ibid.
10. R. Miller, "The Socialist Way of Life in the Field of Tension Between Ideal and Reality," EINHEIT, Nos 7/8, 1982, p 747.
11. Survey results show, e.g., that the working people are much more ready to change jobs than would be necessary for concrete rationalization processes while difficulties yet arise in accomplishing the necessary conversions because the conditions needed for that are insufficiently developed. Practical experiences furthermore indicate that suitable conditions must be in place to encourage the readiness for shift work which in turn is necessary to get a higher output from modern technical plants.
12. We take for a fact that the way of life always means activity, but an activity that is always combined with the conditions for such activity (cf. Authors collective headed by E. Hahn, "Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus," Berlin, 1976, p 821). In this context one must keep in mind that activities are always aimed at the satisfaction of needs and the realization of interests, which in turn function as driving forces for social and individual action (cf. L. Steitz, "Problems of the Socialist Way of Life in the Transition to a Principally Intensively Expanded Reproduction," DZfPh, No 8, 1982, pp 983 f).

13. Cf. W. Hollstein, "Die Gegengesellschaft. Alternative Lebensformen" (The Counter-Society--Alternative Forms of Life), Berlin 1979.
14. R. Dahrendorf, "Moving Toward an Activity Society," DAS PARLAMENT, No 31, 1983, p 9.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. K. Marx, op. cit., p 80.
18. "Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus," lo. cit., pp 765 f.
19. "The individual is object to the formative influences emanating from society as he is also a subject, coshaper of society, influencing his self-development in this transaction" (G. Stiehler, op. cit, p 113).
20. K. Marx, op. cit., p 505.
21. This article understands personality and individuality development as identical processes. Different standpoints on the personality concept encountered in the literature have already been referred to.
22. G. Stiehler, op. cit., p 59.
23. K. Hager, "Inevitabilities in Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 December 1983, p 5.

5885

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CATHOLIC PRESS HISTORY, ORGANS, PROBLEMS OUTLINED

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 24 No 3, Mar 84 pp 9-12

/Article by Hubertus Guske, chief editor: "In the Service of Life and the Faith  
--Catholic Journalism in the GDR"/

/Text/ On the 35th anniversary year of the GDR, too, the Catholic Church may point to the many and varied forms of its operations, all of them directed to one objective: To serve the welfare and salvation of mankind. Consonant with its mission, the Catholic Church increasingly fills with fruitful pastoral and charitable efforts the scope offered the churches for their service by the Constitution and legislation of the GDR. Journalism represents a not unimportant aspect of its operations and is taken note of well beyond the scope of the Church.

The Beginnings After May 1945

After 8 May 1945, the Catholic Church in what was then the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany, now the GDR, was confronted with a journalist black hole. The Nazis had banned Church newspapers and religious radio broadcasts; there was no Church publishing house. It took painstaking efforts to develop a new Catholic journalism. The very first beginning was the reappearance in Dresden on 3 June 1945 of the ST BENNO BLATT, originally established in 1928 as the organ of the Meissen Bishopric by, among others, Dr Gerhard Desczyk, a future member of the BEGEGNUNG editorial board. The issues published after the liberation from fascism were edited by Dr Albert Daenhardt, at the time pastor of Dresden-Friedrichstadt, who later greatly distinguished himself by editing the "Theologischen Jahrbuecher" /Theological Yearbooks/. However, in the enormously difficult material and technical situation of the first postwar period, the newspaper was soon compelled to cease publication once more. On the Eichsfeld, the old-established F.W. Cordier private Catholic publishing house in Heiligenstadt issued religious pamphlets to an initially modest extent, obtaining a license from the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD).

In late 1945, ecclesiastical agencies in Berlin began their efforts to set up a supradiocesan Catholic publishing house and the publication of a corresponding Church newspaper. Bishop Heinrich Wienken, later Bishop of Meissen, carried on the necessary negotiations with SMAD. The initial intention was the establishment of a St Hedwig Publishing House for the Berlin and Meissen bishoprics.

Pursued from 1947 on was the plan for a St Elizabeth Publishing House for the jurisdictional districts of Meissen, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Schwerin and Goerlitz (in West Berlin the episcopal Morus Publishing House had existed since September 1945 with U.S. permission). Finally agreement was achieved on the establishment of the St Benno Publishing House GmbH /company with limited liability/ for the ecclesiastical districts in the Soviet Zone of Occupation. With Bautzen Cathedral Canon Dr Johann Hoetzel as chairman, representatives of the bishoprics or district administrative offices met on 21 October 1947 for the first company meeting of the new publishing firm, although no license had as yet been issued. Negotiations dragged on for several years until, on 25 April 1951, Bishop Wienken received the license, issued by the GDR Office for Information, for the establishment of the St Benno Publishing House, domiciled in Leipzig.

#### St Benno Publishing House in Leipzig

"The publication of Catholic writing" was the license's definition of the new publishing house's assignment. Later in 1951 this phraseology was more precisely defined by the state to make it more comprehensive, permitting publication not only of theological, liturgical and religious-pedagogical works but also of novels, art books, Church music and others. In April 1981, when the St Benno Publishing House was able to celebrate its 30th anniversary, it boasted the issue of some 2,000 titles involving roughly 30 million copies. More than 120 licenses had been issued abroad by that time. The output of the publishing house enjoys renown not only among GDR Catholics but also beyond the borders.

The St Benno Publishing House has the legal status of a company with limited liability. Stockholders are the authorized representatives of the bishops. On behalf of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, Gerhard Schaffran, bishop of Dresden-Meissen, looks after the interests of the publishing house. The religious and commercial directors as well as the chief readers have greatly contributed to the successful operation of the publishing house. Religious directors were Leipzig Dean Dr Otto Spuelbeck, later Bishop of Meissen, from 1951-1957, Dean of Leipzig Monsignor Ernst Pfeiffer from 1957-1973, and Wechselburg Pastor Monsignor Hermann Joseph Weisbender from 1973-1983; in Spring 1983 Cottbus Pastor Christoph Bockisch was appointed by the stockholders.

Bishops' Councillor Dr Josef Guelden, chief reader from 1951-1975, gave a distinctive stamp to the output of the publishing house. Subsequently the respective religious directors also assumed the duties of chief reader. The commercial directors were Joseph Bohn (1951-1953), Ernst Hannig (1953-1973), followed by Eichsfelde publisher Franz-Josef Cordier who merged his Heiligenstadt publishing house with the St Benno Publishing House in 1974.

#### The LORD'S DAY and the Official Gazettes

By setting up a publishing house in 1951, the Church in the GDR also provided itself with a base for the issue of its own newspapers and magazines. Consequently the first issue of the biweekly Church newspaper LORD'S DAY was published on 27 May 1951. In the introduction to the first issue, the GDR bishops and administrators recalled the Nazi ban on Church newspapers and wrote: "The hour

has struck when the voice of the Church, the mother of all the faithful, can again be heard by us." The first licensee of the new Church newspaper was Bautzen Cathedral Canon Dr Johann Hoetzel. At the present time the Berlin Bishops' Conference is both the licensee and the publisher. Episcopal Councilor Dr Josef Guelden was chief editor 1951-1972; he was succeeded by Dr Franz Peter Sonntag, at the time pastor of the Dresden Graduate School and later professor there.

For the past 33 years (almost) this Church newspaper has been regularly received by hundreds of thousands of Catholics. It informs them not only about Church events in the GDR and the world, it is designed mainly to encourage life in the faith and therefore publishes spiritual features, religious-educational contributions and articles on Church history. Occasionally it also includes treatises on topical social problems or peace issues.

At Easter 1952 the St Benno Publishing House was able to offer the first issue of a Catholic monthly for young people, titled CHRISTOPHORUS. Unfortunately this survived for only 1 year. Also published for the first time that year was the CHURCH GAZETTE with separate editions for the various jurisdictional districts (except Berlin). This monthly publication prints mainly official statements by the Holy See, decrees and reports by the various bishops as well as contributions by theologians. Each issue of the CHURCH GAZETTE includes a supplement "Pastoral Issues" with relevant articles by priests from the GDR or other countries. The Berlin Bishops' Conference is the publisher of the CHURCH GAZETTES, now in their 33rd year. The current licensee is Vicar-General Monsignor Hermann Joseph Weisbender (Dresden), chief editor Administrative Councillor Dr Siegfried Seifert (Bautzen).

#### The Berlin ST HEDWIGSBLATT

As the LORD'S DAY was designed mainly for Catholics in the jurisdictional districts Meissen (now Dresden-Meissen), Goerlitz, Magdeburg, Erfurt, Schwerin and Meiningen, the part of the Berlin Bishopric situated in the GDR required the establishment of another Church newspaper, especially because the Catholic PETRUSBLATT, published in West Berlin since December 1945, was banned from sale in the GDR since 1949 and 1953 respectively, due to its constant propaganda against the GDR and socialism. Thanks to the efforts of Bishop Wilhelm Weskamm, the Press office at the GDR Premier's licensed publication of the ST HEDWIGSBLATT on 18 December 1953. The first issue appeared on 3 January 1954. Since then it is sent weekly to several thousand Catholics in the GDR section of the Berlin Bishopric and beyond. Just as the LORD'S DAY, the ST HEDWIGSBLATT, too, offers much spiritual nourishment, reinforcement of the faith and information, especially from the Berlin Bishopric. The publisher of the newspaper, also printed by St Benno Publishing House, Leipzig, is the Episcopal Administration in the GDR capital. Administrative Councillor Monsignor Paul Dissemmond acts as licensee. Administrative Councillor Monsignor Otto Gross was chief editor from 1954 to his death in 1974; he was succeeded by Gerhard Lange, formerly youth minister and since then also appointed administrative councillor and Monsignor.

In the margin let us note that the two Catholic Church newspapers and the CHURCH GAZETTES as well as many books and brochures of the St Benno Publishing House

are produced in the printing shops of the VOB /association of organization-owned enterprises/ Union, that is in enterprises owned by the CDU.

#### The Sorbian Church Newspaper KATOLSKI POSOL

Another Catholic Church newspaper is published in the Sorbian language. KATOLSKI POSOL (Catholic Messenger) was first founded in 1863 and banned by the Nazis in 1939. In the fall 1950 the GDR Government granted a request by the study group of Sorbian Catholic priests and licensed the reappearance of the paper with the old name. Ever since it has been published by the Bautzen Domowina Publishing House VEB which is responsible for all Sorbian writing. KATOLSKI POSOL is particularly concerned with Sorbian ecclesiastical traditions and reports extensively on Catholic life in Sorbia. Publisher of the biweekly newspaper is the Sorbian pastoral study group. Monsignor Martin Salowski (Croswitz), until recently chairman of this study group, was chief editor for many years; the present editor is Pastor Gerhard Werner of Storch. In December 1950, the Domowina Publishing House issued the first postwar edition of the Catholic prayer book and hymnal "Wosadnik." Published in 1967-1976 was a new complete edition of the Holy Bible in Sorbian, prepared by Sorbian Catholic theologians. The study group is issuing other religious literature in Sorbian from time to time.

Also to be counted with Catholic journalism in the GDR is our magazine BEGEGNUNG. Although not published by the Church, it has been considered a voice of GDR Catholics commenting on political, social and ecclesiastical issues since October 1961. BEGEGNUNG fructifies the social cooperation of Catholics and internal Church discussion in many and various ways. The founder and first published of the monthly was Karl Grobbel, former Centrum /pre-Nazi political party with a predominantly Catholic membership--translator's note/ politician and later Land minister. Now the magazine is published by Otto Hartmut Fuchs who is also chairman of the presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK). The author of this article has edited the magazine since the first issue.

Also to be counted among Catholic journalism in our country are the innumerable publications by Catholics in the form of books and brochures by (mainly) the CDU owned publishing house, of articles in many dailies and periodicals as well as of radio commentaries.

#### Church Radio Work

In addition to "print journalism," Church sponsored radio work is also being carried on in the GDR. Its beginnings date back to 22 July 1945, when the first Catholic morning service was broadcast by Berlin Radio. This was organized by Pastor Peter Buchholz, head of the advisory council for ecclesiastical affairs at the Berlin Magistrat. From September 1946 on, morning Church services were transmitted by Central German Radio, Leipzig transmitter. The first Catholic morning service broadcast by this transmitter was organized in August 1947 by Dean and later Bishop of Leipzig Dr Otto Spuelbeck. In subsequent years the Catholic Church was only intermittently offered access to the radio waves for broadcast morning services. In 1954 the Protestant Churches and the



State Radio Committee concluded an agreement stating that one Catholic morning service was normally to follow three Protestant services, always on Sundays from 07.30 hours to 08.25 hours on Radio DDR. This procedure has continued to this day, though a Catholic morning service is always broadcast on the holiest days--Christmas and Pentecost with two state holidays each as well as Good Friday/Easter.

The hard core of the morning services is represented by readings, a sermon and prayer, framed by sacred music. The organization is handled by ecclesiastical radio officials. On behalf of the Catholic Church they were successively Canon Ernst Pfeiffer (Leipzig), Pastor Nikolaus Lock (Markranstaedt and Raeckelwitz) and Vicar-General Georg Ahne (Dresden) and, since 1976, Jesuit Father Gerhard Kroll (Leipzig). Priests particularly skilled in using this medium alternate in preaching at the 18 Catholic morning services broadcast annually; since 1978 it has become the custom for a bishop to preach at the first Catholic morning service of the year.

The Catholic Church does not yet take part in televised church services, introduced in 1978; initially it rejected such involvement.

#### A Deficit in Terms of "Communio et Progressio"

The total aspect of Catholic journalism in the GDR demonstrates the wide scope for Church and Catholic publicity. Both the Church and individual Catholics are doing their best to take advantage of it. Nevertheless we need to be aware of certain shortcomings. They are evident especially in the difference between Vatican standards and ecclesiastical practice in the GDR. The standards were set on 23 May 1971 in the pastoral directive approved by Pope Paul VI, "Communio et Progressio," on the tools of social communication. However, they were long ignored in many countries. The directive, (No 169, for example), prescribes the establishment of an ecclesiastical head office for all means of communication, to be managed by a bishop appointed by the Bishops' Conference. Not until December 1982 did the Berlin Bishop's Conference in the GDR set up a special section for the media and appointed Bishop Heinrich Theissing (Schwerin) to manage it. It remains to be seen how well he will be able to promote the realization of the pastoral directive in the churches of the GDR.

Important in this connection is the question of the Church's readiness adequately to inform the secular public in the GDR about ecclesiastical events. The pastoral directive (Nos 119-121) calls for an extensive internal flow of Church information and resolutely opposes any unjustified holding back of news. At the same time (No 123) it calls for the publication of ecclesiastical information to all available media. For that reason (No 174), each bishop and each bishops' conference ought to have a permanent press spokesman and (No 176) publish an official information service. GDR Church practice badly needs to catch up to these standards. Even the competent prelates confirm the bishops' lack of willingness to release information. This means that the Church sells itself short from the aspect of its public mission. As you know, there are six Christian-oriented dailies and many Christian magazines, all certainly interested in receiving ongoing authentic news from the Catholic Church and publish it. Such news needs to be offered and should certainly not be refused when editorial boards request it. Greater frankness toward the nonecclesiastical media would effectively assist the efforts of our own publications.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PONTOON BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 2, Feb 84 (signed to press 6 Dec 83) pp 30-35

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "Between Upstream and Downstream: Pontoon Construction of the 'Willy Becker' Unit Viewed During Deployment"]

[Text] "Move out to build company ferry!" A long convoy of Ural and KrAZ vehicles gets going, winding its way toward the big river. First Lieutenant Reussner, CO of a pontoon company, was ordered to assist a motorized rifle regiment in crossing this wide water obstacle. The regiment's advance party, with its amphibious combat vehicles, had already established a bridgehead on the other bank but now the main body has to get across. Immediately. The regiment's march movement must not falter. The Engineers know what their job is; now every minute counts, now all eyes are upon them.

After arriving at the construction site, the powerful vehicles are swung to the side and are backed up into the water for several meters; then they are relieved of their cargo. One pontoon pack after the other comes tumbling down, splashes into the water, and opens up. Already several soldiers are busy boarding the floating components. Pvt Piske, on Pontoon 6, grabs a long assembly rod, sticks it into a small recess, while a second soldier hurries over. Together, they jam the rod into the other direction and close the first deck lock. Joachim Piske is already working on the other locks, puts the anchor in place, and raises the crane boom. No mistakes in handling, no wasted motion. This Engineer has mastered his trade. And he is quick. His part of the ferry is one of the first to be ready. He could take a little break now--but none of that. He jumps to the next pontoon, he pitches in, he helps where he can, and he assists in hitching the one after the next one up. Joachim Piske is a good buddy. "I cannot stand it when somebody just stands around and watches," he said. The Engineers, he feels, must support each other. There must not be any petty thinking such as: I have done my share of the job and the rest is yours and it's every man for himself. "We have a common assignment: The ferry. What counts is the performance of the entire company. After all, the unit is waiting for us."

There is something else the Engineers need, he comments. Power. On quite a few evenings, Pvt Piske can be found in his company's gym. That is where he works out and strengthens his muscles. Successfully.

In this way he has an easier time handling the heavy equipment. "The anchor weighs 41 kg and I can handle it all by myself." On other pontoons, it takes two men to do the job.

Only 13 minutes have passed since the first vehicle turned up on the bank here and the ferry is already there, ready to move. More than 8 m wide and almost 120 m long. Pvt Piske removes a cable and, taking a deep breath, he sits down on the edge of the pontoon. His gaze sweeps over to the tugboats whose engines now roar. It is their turn now and, what the Engineers have just assembled, they must now move upstream.

Tugboat 4, piloted by PFC Grobelny, is tied to the ferry's upstream side. It was not by chance that the company CO assigned this boat pilot at the end here. While the boats in the middle of the ferry provide forward motion, the two outside boats maintain direction. Just how gently the ferry casts off and ties up and how briskly the unit can cross will depend on the skill and ability of both pilots to a decisive degree.

Frank Grobelny has his boat in high gear. He has never had any engine trouble with it that would have been his fault or that could have been traced to his negligence. "When I climb into the boat and notice that everything is not in order, I know what to do," he said. "But the boat has to be ready at all times. How could we otherwise accomplish our mission of building ferries and bridges?" He also takes good care of his Wartburg car at home and his little tugboat is no exception either. And as he gets a pass later on, he first checks the rudder, the turning gear, and the top seals.

Promoted to the rank of PVC ahead of time, with two qualification badges and top-performer badges, each--diligence, ability, and discipline do pay off; the former Engineer Pvt Frank Grobelny is a living example for the others. It is no wonder then that the company CO picked him as the lead driver. On the upstream side you have to have a fellow who immediately understands what the commander on the ferry means by the various signals he gives and he must react accordingly. A man on whom one can rely.

A column of APCs rolls "on board." The Engineers vector them in a column of two's. Next comes a blast from the company CO's whistle. Cast off! Flag signals are given to the individual boats. The diesel engines roar; with a capacity of 88.8 kw--formerly 120 hp in other words--they pull the pontoon chain, which is deep in the water, away from the bank. PFC Grobelny holds the wheel with the left hand while he grabs the gear lever with the right hand, gently forcing it up and then down again. Give gas, let up, reverse, forward. The situation keeps changing. Tensely, the boat driver looks to his superior and then back to the tie-up point on the bank where two little yellow flags are his marker signals. He must hit the bank with the bank portion of the ferry between those two sticks. He can tell when the aft boats push too much or too little, thus causing the ferry to deviate slightly from its course. He must then correspondingly push or pull again. And he has to watch the current. He must also figure on the current, that incalculable factor which can always bring surprises.

Frank Grobelny pilots his side of the ferry expertly between both marker sticks. As the drive-up ramps are lowered, he contemplates the new situation. As they drive up, the APCs force the ferry back and tear it away from the bank. So you have to exert a counterforce; 800-900 rpm with your machine are enough here. The APCs are lighter than the tanks. If you were dealing with tanks, you would have to come up with 1,000 rpm. The PFC now has the right feeling in his hands and holds the ferry securely along the bank. Once again, he delivered the unit without any additional maneuvers and the entire process of crossing the river took only 4 minutes. This is a time gain for the motorized riflemen. While the last vehicle is driven up the bank, Grobelny already looks back to his company CO.

The latter is director and commander at the same time and he is First Lieutenant Reussner, the ferry leader on these long-drawn-out pontoons. He is constantly underway between the upstream side and the downstream side. With the whistle in his mouth, a little yellow and a little red flag in his hands he directs his tugboats. Using his flagstaffs he indicates an angle of 90° to them. This means: Tie up with the ferry at a right angle. Later he reduces the angle--in other words, oblique run. Then tie up alongside. Full speed ahead, slow down, forward, reverse--he keeps changing the signals. Peter Reussner must not let his attention wander for a single second. He watches the current, to observe the water to see whether there are any eddies pointing to a hidden sandbank. "The river keeps changing its face constantly," the officer tells us. "Just an hour ago it was flowing rather lazily but its speed can increase quickly. The water level may have been normal a little while ago but now it may have dropped." The first lieutenant knows the tricky aspects of the river and he knows how to cope with them. One crossing after the other is accomplished briskly.

Last night however things looked somewhat sticky as another unit tried to cross in the darkness with the first "ferry run." First Lieutenant Reussner loaded the ferry to the utmost limit: 16 APCs. He wanted to save time for the motorized riflemen and he wanted to be able to move their vehicles into combat quickly. But when he gave the signal to cast off, nothing moved. Well, how come we are not underway? he thought. His assistant reported to him that the ferry had run up on the bank with its downstream side. Earlier, when tying up, it had been pushed too far up the bank. The first lieutenant quietly cursed his assistant. Why did he not tell me that sooner? If I had known that, I would only have put 14 vehicles on the ferry and I would have ordered the last two to brake quickly and we would have gotten away from the bank! But, things being what they were, Peter Reussner had to start some new maneuver. He let the ferry's upstream side--in other words the opposite part--drift downstream. Nothing moved on the bank! Then he pushed the side upstream. At last they got away. But all of this caused a delay of more than 12 minutes. And it was due to an oversight. If this had been the real thing, it could have had devastating consequences--when the combat units accomplish their combat missions too late or not at all.

"Engines off! Everybody out!" Comrade Reussner and some of his Engineers knock on the steel plates of some vehicles and urge the men inside to hurry up. Everybody is now under the command of the first lieutenant because he

is the ferry leader. He is the commander. He must take care of everybody's safety. And he gets mad when some motorized riflemen, artillerymen, or tankers constantly have to be reminded of their duties although their units should have briefed them on that earlier. They forget to pull the hand brake and to put the vehicle in gear. Some of them do not pay attention to the signals given by his aides and they drive up on the ferry either too slowly or too quickly and they do not move in the tracks laid out for them there. Or they dismount from the vehicles on the downstream side, thus depriving him of the visibility he needs to have all of his tugboats in view.

The ferry leader bears a considerable degree of responsibility. In addition to what happens on the ferry, he must also keep events on the water in sight. Linked via radio with the river outposts far beyond, along the upstream and downstream sectors, and with the river crossing sector's commander, he must react to their messages. And First Lieutenant Reussner and his company are always master of the situation. Here and during the past several hours, they made 26 crossings during both of these days without any damage as they once again floated downstream for the unhitching operation. It is too bad that they were unable to hear the words of a gunner who made this comment to his buddies: "By gum! Everything came off like clockwork here!"

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CSO: 2300/374

KADAR'S TWO TRACK DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL POLICIES EXAMINED

Brussels LE SOIR in French 7, 8 Mar 84

[Article by Edouard Van Velthem: "Hungary '83: Janos Kadar's Tightrope Walking"]

[7 Mar 84 p 8]

[Text] Tacit Bargaining With Moscow

Diplomatic overtures to the world, and unconditional alignment with Moscow; economic "liberalism," and reassertion of ideological control; democratization of political institutions, and redoubled harassment of opponents--is that a paradoxical alignment of essentially irreconcilable concepts? We shall see. In the year just past, Janos Kadar's Hungary has once more shown, with quiet obstinacy, its surprising aptitude for synthesizing its obligations under international alliances with the aspirations of its people to sovereignty.

Euromissiles--seldom, no doubt, has a single word so symbolized an entire year's diplomacy. At its outset, hundreds of thousands of pacifist demonstrators thronged the streets of Western capitals, a few "imprudent" protesters felt the rigors of the law in the East, and hundreds of enigmatic messages transited to and from Washington and Moscow through Geneva. Curiously, though, Hungary always kept aloof from the debate, far from the sound and fury raised by Pershing II/SS-20 polemics.

There was but one tangible sign of the controversy: an official demonstration last May by some 10,000 youths assembled at the call of the National Peace Council and the Young Communist League of Budapest. Bringing up the rear of the procession was a handful of sympathizers (about 500) of the "Peace Group for Dialogue," an independent organization, who hammered out slogans addressed jointly to Ronald Reagan and Yuriy Andropov. The calmness of the opponents, and the prudence of the police, however, jointly prevented any incident. Thus there was nothing comparable to the agitation in brother countries, which ranged from the blusterings of M Ceacescu to arrests of nonofficial pacifists in Czechoslovakia, by way of expulsions of East German dissidents.

Nor was Kadar moved by the breakdown of negotiations in Geneva, or by the Kremlin's brandished threats of draconian countermeasures on its allies' territories. <sup>1/</sup> In fact, everything seems to indicate that the Hungarian authorities have received certain assurances in the matter. Thus on the very next day after Yuriy Andropov's menacing speech, Gyula Horn, head of the international department of the Hungarian CP, let it be known that "the USSR will not deploy medium-range missiles in Hungary."

Immediately following that, a visit by Janos Kadar to East Berlin was concluded by a joint statement which did not even mention the "retaliatory" military measures announced by Moscow. Such an assertion of authority, in a field affecting the whole Soviet strategy, is difficult to imagine without the assent of the Kremlin's masters.

Fiercely attached to a policy of detente which has always served its economic interests, the Hungarian government was thus content to follow faithfully, but without overmuch enthusiasm, the subtle twists and turns of the Soviet delegation. Whether on the question of denouncing an imbalance of forces favorable to the United States, or on that of including French and British nuclear forces in negotiations, the voice of Budapest has never sounded the slightest false note in the Warsaw Pact concert.

#### The Link With Beijing

This flawless diplomatic solidarity with "big brother" is no doubt reflected better still by the spectacular Sino-Hungarian rapprochement initiated this year. For the first time in more than 20 years a high Chinese official, Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, set foot in Budapest, and soon thereafter Hungarian Minister of Foreign Trade Peter Veress visited Beijing.

With a host of cultural, scientific, and sports delegations; with resumption of contacts on tourism and trade union matters; with a growth of over 80 percent in total trade volume since 1982; with commercial agreements--including one for modernization of the port of Dalian, north of Beijing, by Hungarian firms; and with financial agreements under which the Bank of China has deposited \$100 million in the Bank of Hungary, the multiple facets of this rapprochement have made Hungary the privileged partner of Beijing in eastern Europe.

The important factor, however, lies elsewhere. For several months now the Kremlin has striven to give substance to the precarious Sino-Soviet talks.

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1. Like Ceacescu, the Hungarian authorities have advanced a strange argument to justify, in their view, the non-deployment of Soviet missiles on their territory: as former allies of Nazi Germany in World War II, they are forbidden to harbor weapons of mass destruction. A curious justification, but one which clearly reflects the deep anxiety of the popular democracies in the face of the superpowers' nuclear arms race.



In the face of those enormous stakes, with each of the opposing parties wishing above all not to lose face, might not the judicious utilization of a faithful ally prove an effective means of muting the clash of mutual mistrust and reopening a dialogue?

Let us not forget that . Kadar's interlocutor, Qian Qichen, is also to be found among the Chinese negotiators in the Sino-Soviet talks, so perhaps it is not by chance that a delegation led by the secretary general of the Chinese CP made an "official friendship visit" in July at the invitation of the Kremlin leaders.

### Groping Steps Toward Democracy

The strict alignment of Hungary's foreign policy with the strategy decreed by Moscow does not, under those conditions, take on the same humiliating character as it might in the other peoples' democracies. Strengthened by the maneuvering room they have obtained from the Soviet authorities, Hungarian diplomats can also bank, in the opposite direction, on the reputation for integrity and relative tolerance they enjoy in the West. But more than that, their conformity to the Kremlin's geopolitics also leaves them an appreciable margin for maneuver in the functioning of their political institutions.

Already considered a "special case" in eastern Europe, Hungary has taken a further step by introducing into its constitution an electoral reform broadening still more the law of 1970--itself liberal by Eastern standards. At least two candidates must henceforth run in each district in legislative elections, and the "defeated" candidate--if he has obtained 25 percent of the vote--will automatically become a deputy locum tenens. 2/

Concurrently, a national list, drawn up by the Popular Democratic Front and elected by the citizens at large, will include the members of the party politburo and secretariat (14 persons), as well as eminent figures from economic, scientific, and cultural circles--whether or not they are party members--for a total of nearly 10 percent of the 352 seats to be filled. Finally, the creation of a Constitutional Council, an independent body made up essentially of jurists and charged with judicial review of new legislation and investigation of complaints brought by social organizations, rounds out a panoply of reforms altogether unique in the East.

### A Consensus for a Time of Crisis

It is quite obvious that not until the national elections in 1985 will it be possible to assess the real impact of those initiatives, which were taken

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2. This dual principle of multiple candidacies and locum tenens deputies had already appeared in the 1970 reform. Then only optional, it has now attained the status of a legal requirement.

quite recently. Nevertheless, even if the candidates are then obliged to accept the single program laid down by the party, we can easily imagine the interest offered by the introduction of the notion of election campaigns into Hungarian political life. This is all the more so because the authorities, in their determination to insure equal chances to all candidates, are preparing to launch a widespread information campaign intended to combat the conditioned reflexes of voters. Apparently they have no fear of possible victories by "non-party" candidates over those favored by the apparatus.

The central authorities make no secret of the fact that this reform, prudent though it is, aims at consolidating the national consensus around the leadership in order to overcome the economic crisis without risk of a popular explosion. A corollary is the upgrading of the national assembly's role, for up till now that body has been limited to the obscure role of a registry office. Curiously, this demand was already part of the reform program drawn up by the "underground" magazine BESZELOE--an audacity then vigorously opposed by the state.

That was not hypocrisy but pragmatism, for Janos Kadar, faced with the haughty custodians of orthodoxy and their threatening divisions, knows full well he can get nothing without equivalent concessions. Were not democratization of public life and maintenance of social peace, which concerns some 11 million Hungarians, worth the sacrifice of a handful of dissident intellectuals? He considered they were. History, in truth, abounds with tragic lessons no one can forget.

8 Mar 84 p 87 From Economic Consensus to Ideological Repression

Text Hungarian model, goulash socialism, Kadarism--a host of newly coined terms has been used to pin down the originality of the Hungarian economy. A privileged hyphen between the two blocs, a presentable show window of true socialism to the capitalist world--or vice versa--Hungary has finally, and with relative adaptability, overcome the tragedy of 1956. More easily, in any case, than its Polish and Czech "brothers," Budapest nevertheless continues to keep a low profile. Flattered by the West's interest, it is only too aware of the perils of experiments ostentatiously departing from the intangible dogma jealously guarded by Moscow.

Why does Janos Kadar, at Eastern summits, content himself with the most frugal meals limited to bread and water, while all his colleagues partake of sumptuous feasts? Because in keeping with his distinctive image he pretends to be three years ahead of everyone else. Wry humor, no doubt, but accompanied nevertheless by an undeniable didactic sense: for in Hungary, as everywhere else, the coming years will be hard, falling under the sign of austerity and stagnation, or even decline, in standards of living.

At least Budapest has the merit of not dissembling: here there is no jargon or half truth; the matter at hand is to exorcise the emerging danger. But paradoxically Janos Kadar's overtures in search of a national consensus, from the bedside of an ailing economy, have already claimed some victims.

The government has been led to take criticism into account so that the economy can continue to function, but as counterpoint it has turned against dissident intellectuals: the trend is toward hardening of the ideological line, with growing repression, and Laszlo Rajk has felt its weight.

An architect by profession, he is first of all the son of a former interior minister executed in 1946 after a parody of judicial process, a victim of the first Stalinist trial in Hungary. Faithful to his father's memory, Rajk has grasped the torch of protest, and by that very act has accepted his own outcast status.

The "Boutique"--Laszlo Rajk's apartment in the heart of the Hungarian capital--was for years the symbol of freedom of expression in Hungary.

A distribution center for self-published literature (samizdat), and a meeting place for all shades of the opposition, it obviously could only irritate the official authorities, so searches, inquiries, and examinations followed until its final closing early in 1983.

#### Outdated Methods

The situation is all the more strange since the huge gap between the intelligentsia and working class has never been bridged, and since the regime's opponents, divided and few in number, have but little impact on the population, essentially limiting their activities to publication and distribution of books or periodicals "outside censorship." Intervention by the regime is in fact selective. Major target is the "democratic opposition," which now numbers hardly more than 200 intellectuals spread among three distinct organizations: the poor relief agency Szeta, which since 1979 has provided financial help to the most disadvantaged among the population; the underground magazine BESZÉLOE (The Parlor) a forum for opposition debate since October 1981; and the independent publishing house A. B., which in two years of existence has published several works turned down by official circuits. For the first time since 1975, six members of those various minigroups were prosecuted for violation of press laws--that is, for offenses of opinion.

The case of the sociologist Gabor Demszky, a friend of Laszlo Rajk, is no doubt the most indicative of a return to methods Hungarians thought were outdated. After refusing to yield his briefcase to policemen who were harassing him, Demszky was violently beaten, blinded with tear gas, and taken unconscious to a hospital where he remained for two weeks.

Charged with "violence against officers of the law," he heard himself given a ~~suspended~~ sentence of six months; certainly a lenient verdict in the special context of Eastern countries, but one nonetheless illustrating the breakdown of the pact between the regime and its "dissidents."

Generally speaking, neutral observers and intellectuals concerned agree in discerning three major reasons for that sudden reversal by the authorities. Victimized in violation of their national rights in Czechoslovakia, and subjected to harsh discrimination in Romanian Transylvania, Hungarian minorities meet with a sympathy on the part of their compatriots which is all the greater because of the undeniable revival of national feeling throughout the Eastern bloc countries, to which is added the hostile contempt of the Magyar people for the repressive methods of Gustav Husak and Nicolae Ceacescu.

Quite obviously, Romanian and Czech security services are convinced that intellectual activism of Hungarian origin within their own territories benefits from the complicity of Budapest itself. In the face of such polemics, which is reaching public dimensions through the intervention of the press, Janos Kadar, out of concern for appeasement, decided to react. Launching an offensive against his domestic opposition--suspected of connections with those exiled brothers--allows him at least cost to show his goodwill and restore good neighborly relations with Prague and Bucharest.

With that outlook he particularly forbade the "conference on minorities and the national problem in central Europe" organized by young writers in the Jcsef Attila Club.

#### Bitter Memories

A second explanation is the death of Leonid Brezhnev in November 1982 and his succession at the summit of Soviet power by Yuriy Andropov, who was Soviet ambassador in Budapest during the tragic events of 1956. As the major instigator of Janos Kadar's rise to party leadership, the late master of the Kremlin recalled too painful a past not to arouse instinctive mistrust on the banks of the Danube.

Moreover, the accession to supreme power of that former head of the KGB could only increase, throughout the Eastern bloc, the influence of security services wholly subservient to Moscow. The Hungarian services, which had already been dreaming for a long time of launching a new crusade against the opposition, have quite obviously profited from this situation.

Finally, and above all, we must not lose sight of the present difficulties besetting the Hungarian economy. True, in order to avoid open social discontent the "Hungarian style" consensus has always allowed broad debate on remedies and reforms to be applied to the central planning system. That tolerance, however, assumed respect of the regime's political organization, and formulation of reform proposals on a strictly individual basis. But the opposition--long confined to a minimum scope of actions expressed in very vague terms--suddenly broke the rules of the game: the magazine BESZE-LOE published a detailed reform program calling for the absolute openness of the state and for a better defined separation of powers. That was a provocation to the dogmatists of a single and omnipotent party. "Will exchange lofty ideological concept for favorable geographical position": rejected by a political and economic liberalization which requires opposite sacrifices,

protesting Hungarian intellectuals now ponder that satirical advertisement which in all difficult conditions spreads like wildfire through the country. And in a more serious vein, they no doubt take note of the distance still to be traveled before a dissonant voice can make itself heard in a concert of jargon. Made fragile by the very originality it displays within the Eastern fortress, Hungary is ever watchful, for since 1956 it has been under constant and close surveillance.

6145

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CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP OF GNA COMMISSIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 98, 20 Dec 83 p 2

[Decision of the Grand National Assembly on Changes in the Composition of Some Permanent Commissions of the Grand National Assembly]

[Text] Inasmuch as some deputies, members of permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly, have been appointed to the government, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that:

The composition of some permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly should be modified as follows:

Credentials Commission:

The deputy Marin Enache is released and the deputy Ilie Cisu is elected.

Constitution and Legal Commission:

The deputy Ion Teoreanu is released and the deputy Ion Circei is elected.

Commission for Industry and Economic-Financial Activity:

The deputy Ioan Totu is released and the deputy Decebal Urdea is elected.

Commission for Agriculture, Silviculture, and Water Management:

The deputies Ion Catrinescu and Ioan Petre are released.

Commission for Health, Labor, Social Welfare and Environmental Protection:

The deputy Stefan Morcuta is released and the deputy Radu Balan is elected.

Commission for Peoples Councils and State Administration:

The deputy Ion Albuletu is released and the deputy Pavel Aron is elected.

Commission for Foreign Policy and International Economic Cooperation:

The deputies Vasile Pungan and Nicolae Gavrilescu are released and the deputies Miu Dobrescu and Marin Stefanache are elected.

This decision was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in its session of 16 December 1983.

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 16 December 1983

No. 9

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## BRIEFS

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Augustin Todea, director of the Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Cluj County, is appointed deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Cluj County Peoples Council. Comrade Damian Munteanu, director of the Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Olt County, is appointed deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County People's Council. Comrade Horia Vintila Furtuna, director of the Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Vrancea County, is appointed deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Vrancea County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 30, 6 Apr 84 p 2]

REMOVAL OF STATISTICS CHIEF--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ilie Salapa is dismissed [se destituie] from his position as director general of the Central Directorate of Statistics. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 30, 6 Apr 84 p 3]

CLUJ PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Sasu is appointed deputy chairman of the Cluj County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 30, 6 Apr 84 p 3]

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Emilian Mihailescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry and Comrade Matei Georgescu is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 95, 9 Dec 83 p 2]

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## BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA PARTY MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 84 pp 2-3

[Article by Gordana Knezevic: "A Worker Erred or Majority"]

[Text] The League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina began this year with a membership of 410,100. That is 28,207 more members than at the end of 1981. According to the first and not yet definitive figures, the B-H LC enrolled 15,438 members during last year. During the same period it expelled 1,805 from its ranks, and 4,497 members of the LC were dropped from the rolls. The number of those who withdrew from the League of Communists by their own decision last year was 846.

Compared to developments in recent years, this is a question of continuity in the political-ideological differentiation which since the 12th LCY Congress and 8th B-H LC Congress has nevertheless gained in intensity. By comparison with figures from the previous decade, there has been a considerable increase in the number dropped from the rolls. The year 1983 could be compared with the year 1970 with respect to the number expelled from the B-H LC (1,736 were expelled) or with 1972 (1,704 were expelled). However, in both 1970 and 1972 the number of those who resigned from the B-H LC was considerably greater than in 1983, while at the same time the number of newly enrolled members was incomparably smaller in those years.

## Generational Mobility

The age-specific composition and social composition do not experience rapid nor very abrupt changes. The young generation continues to be the most sizable age group in the ranks of the B-H LC. This largest group is made up of young people between the ages of 21 and 25 (74,014), and it is followed by the middle age group between the ages of 31 and 35 (66,365).

Statistical analyses of the membership by years of enrollment in the LC or by the criterion of "years in the party" are also of interest. There are 74 members on the rolls from the generation enrolled in the party before 1940 and 3,947 members enrolled in the party between 1941 and 1944 received the new party cards. We should also say that with respect to this criterion those enrolled in the League of Communists since 1973 constitute a sizable majority of the membership.

Almost two-thirds of the 16,438 newly enrolled members are young people under the age of 27 (12,724).

Among the 1,805 members who were expelled 337 were young people between the ages of 21 and 25. With respect to occupational groups, workers in industry and mining were the largest group among those expelled from the LC (393), and then the trade sector (125), supervisory personnel in the economy (93), health care personnel (64), educators (55), and then supervisory personnel in the social services (14), newsmen (3), and so on.

With respect to the grounds of expulsion from the League of Communists the largest group (921) was made up of those against whom this penalty was pronounced because of political irresponsibility and passivity in discharging the obligations of a member of the LC (unjustified absences, failure to pay dues, and so on). Violation of legality and various types of crime were the grounds on which 468 expulsion decisions were based, and failure to abide by the LCY Program and the policy and views of the LC, combined with advocacy of views alien to the League of Communists, accounted for 168 such measures.

Failure to respect the self-management rights of the working people was the reason for 83 expulsion measures, while 53 members had to leave the ranks of the League of Communists because of ethnic intolerance. Factionalism and the spreading of falsehoods and misinformation aimed at political and moral discrediting of other people are given as the grounds for expelling 49 members.

Changes in the composition of the membership of the B-H LC, at least in statistical terms, cannot offer a firm basis for conclusions about what is happening on the ideological front. One age group (between the ages of 20 and 25) is strikingly most numerous among those expelled, those dropped from the rolls, and also those who have withdrawn from the League of Communists. However, the picture may also be distorted in the mirror of statistics.

In this case we are talking about the group that is otherwise the most sizable in the B-H LC. Given its proportion in the total composition of the B-H LC, the number of young people who in one way or another has diverged from the policy of the League of Communists is negligibly small. To be sure, this is also the age group which is hurt most by the consequences of the incomplete reform of education as well as those of the economic crisis in society. The confidence of young people in the League of Communists is dependent upon the degree to which the interests of their own age group are furthered and it is precisely along those lines that they establish quite firm ties to the vanguard of the working class, but this is also the area which gives rise to individual cases of discouragement and dissatisfaction at the pace of social changes.

#### Class Distribution and the Statistical "Worker"

Although the social composition and age-specific composition must be indicated separately, certain categories pertain at least in part to the same members. For example, the statistical "young person" and the statistical "worker" to some extent coincide in the actual composition.

### Age-Specific Structure of the Membership of the B-H LC at the End of 1983

Total membership	410,100	From age 36 to 45	78,266
Number of women	124,247	From age 46 to 55	47,553
Under age 27	144,267	Over age 56	21,012
From age 28 to 35	119,014		

### Ethnic Composition of the Membership of the B-H LC

Montenegrins	4,919	Slovaks	54
Croats	47,298	Turks	21
Macedonians	423	Gypsies	108
Muslims	142,606	Austrians	1
Slovenes	536	Greeks	5
Serbs	172,887	Jews	126
Albanians	362	Germans	6
Bolgars	67	Poles	17
Czechs	57	Russians	11
Italians	3	Ukrainians	316
Hungarians	127	Undeclared	284
Romanians	25	Yugoslavs	39,730
Ruthenians	40		

The number of workers has an important place in the overall composition of the membership of the LCY and the B-H LC. Just as we are not striving to have a young party from the formal standpoint (but rather we are striving for the young generation to be able to contribute to the party's effectiveness as a vanguard through its own creativity), so the effort to have a more marked number of workers is not a formal question, but an eminently class question. The social composition of the League of Communists, if it is not decisive, does at least have an impact on political action which cannot be neglected. Over the last 10 years or so the percentage of workers has ranged about 30 percent of the total membership (33.1 percent in Bosnia-Herzegovina). In this past period the categories of office workers, civil servants and especially educated specialists [sluzbenici, cinovnici and intelektualni radnici] have been increasing considerably faster than the worker category. On the whole there is a pronounced tendency toward an ever increasing number of members of the B-H LC with junior and senior postsecondary education. The number of workers in the party has been increasing constantly, but in relative terms it has been staying the same. That stagnancy is still more pronounced with private farmers.

Although young people constitute a convincing majority, and the workers less than a third of the party membership, the first group, which is "age-specific," and the second, which is "social," are comparable with respect to their level of mobility. That is, year after year these are the most numerous groups among newly enrolled members of the B-H LC, but their share is also dominant among those expelled, those dropped from the rolls and those who have withdrawn from the League of Communists by their own decision.

## On the Side of Productive Labor

The very concept of class membership, which we are supposed to ascertain by means of the category "worker," has not been sufficiently investigated as to what in this concept is altered by associated labor. It cannot be arrived at statistically, but still, if we cannot obtain answers, we can at least put questions on the basis of such records (based primarily on qualifications).

"If we leave aside for the moment the theoretical controversies about what the working class means in our context--which is unquestionably an important question both to theory and political ideology--it can be said that in the dynamic pattern over a relatively lengthy period in development of the League of Communists (from 1969 to the present time) a considerable contradiction has been manifested between the steady increase in the number of members in the absolute sense and the stagnation or indeed even relative lag with respect to the increase in the number of workers--direct producers, and private farmers. This applies to workers at all levels of skill, but especially to those with quite low qualifications," Vlado Sultanovic said at the 11th Meeting of the B-H LC Central Committee, which was held less than a year ago.

"The League of Communists must reflect on why there has been almost no change in the situation in this respect in all this time since the 10th LCY Congress and the well-known demand for achieving a worker majority in the League of Communists. Why is it that the workers--in relative terms--are enrolling in the smallest numbers and dropping out of the League of Communists in the largest numbers? Why is it that certain social and occupational groups have a noticeable lead with respect to their share in the total composition of the League of Communists? How do we account for such a strongly manifested tendency of the ever greater share of educated specialists, office workers, administrative personnel and personnel from the social services as a whole? Why is it, especially in the membership of the organs and bodies of the League of Communists--in spite of certain improvements--that there are still not enough workers, women and young people?" Here we have singled out just some of the questions which Sultanovic posed at the meeting mentioned.

Research in SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia and SR Serbia, and also research done over a long period of time in Bosnia-Herzegovina has shown that the poor results in the effort to increase the proportion of workers in the LC cannot be attributed to shortcomings with respect to organization and policy (the policy, for instance, governing enrollment in the LC), but rather the principal reasons are related to the position of the working class in society. The League of Communists must take a more open and concrete stand on the side of production, on the side of that segment of society which creates the income and produces the new value. The road to a worker majority is the road of resolving the workers' vital issues. Not only enrollment, but also the membership and the life of the League of Communists need to be tied more firmly to work and to proven commitment to socialist self-management.

So long as careerism, verbalism and various forms of opportunism coexist with honest communist commitment, we cannot expect the changes which are desired in the composition of the League of Communists in the direction of a worker majority.

Ideological developments cannot be adequately portrayed in the statistical mirror, but it is possible, at least concerning the change in the composition of the membership of the LC, to obtain certain indications and to point up questions which call for further investigation of practice and for theoretical conceptualization.

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